Civic Priests

Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten

Herausgegeben von
Jörg Rüpke und Christoph Uehlinger

Band 58

De Gruyter

Civic Priests

Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity

Edited by
Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner

De Gruyter

ISBN 978-3-11-025807-3
e-ISBN 978-3-11-025808-0
ISSN 0939-2580

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Civic priests : cult personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic period to late antiquity / [edited by] Marietta Horster, Anja Klöckner.
p. cm. – (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, ISSN 0939-2580 ; Bd. 58)
English, German, and French.
Chiefly proceedings of a workshop held in Mar. 2010 in Berlin, Germany.
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 978-3-11-025807-3 (hardcover 23 × 15,5 : alk. paper)
1. Priests – Greece – Congresses. 2. Greece – Religion – Congresses. I. Horster, Marietta. II. Klöckner, Anja.
BL795.P7C58 2012
292.6'109385–dc23
2011039555

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

© 2012 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

Druck: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
∞ Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Contents

MARIETTA HORSTER AND ANJA KLÖCKNER
Introduction 1

MARIETTA HORSTER
Priests, priesthoods, cult personnel – traditional and new approaches 5

ANJA KLÖCKNER
Tradition – Repräsentation – Distinktion. Eine Fallstudie zu Reliefweihungen von Priestern im späthellenistischen und römischen Attika 27

STEPHEN D. LAMBERT
The social construction of priests and priestesses in Athenian honorific decrees from the fourth century BC to the Augustan period 67

ERIC PERRIN-SAMINADAYAR
Prêtres et prêtresses d'Athènes et de Délos à travers les décrets honorifiques athéniens (167-88 *a.* C.) 135

MARIETTA HORSTER
The tenure, appointment and eponymy of priesthoods and their (debatable) ideological and political implications 161

ERKKI SIRONEN
Heidnische Priester in Attika vom dritten bis zum fünften Jahrhundert nach Christus 209

JAN N. BREMMER
Athenian civic priests from classical times to late antiquity: some considerations 219

Indices 237

Introduction

MARIETTA HORSTER AND ANJA KLÖCKNER

Social relations within society in the Greek cities can be investigated through the example of religious functionaries, by tracing their social and political identities. Modern attempts in the sociology of religion to give a systematic account of religious authority and religious symbols have in recent years taken their cue from the approach developed by Clifford Geertz in 1966, which stressed the reciprocal influence between a religious system and its (social, political) codes and systems of meaning. In this account, any act by a religious functionary or in reaction to one is a social action, oriented towards the behaviour of others and part of a semantic system of social relations.

In the present volume and in a second, planned one, a number of the contributions take this approach as a heuristic basis to investigate the interactions between social, cultural, and political systems and their religious symbols or actors, in our case the priests and priestesses.

This dialectical relation can be traced very clearly in the post-classical *poleis*. A common denominator in *polis* cultures from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity is the construction of an exemplary, imagined past as a point of reference paradigm. These phenomena are especially visible in the area of cult and ritual. The explicit references to tradition in texts and images in fact create new forms of expressing religious identity in the Hellenistic and Roman *poleis*, a process that can occur with various speeds and dynamics.

The focus of analysis in our project is on two geographical areas for which a generous amount of well-documented and informative material evidence survives. This first volume will look exclusively at Athens and Delos under Athenian rule, while the planned second volume will offer an extensive examination of the *poleis* of the Aegean and Asia Minor, including Kos, Rhodes, Pergamon, Priene or Smyrna. Because these two areas – the Athenian one and the one in and around Asia Minor – were strikingly different from each other in their social structures, political conditions, religious traditions and material culture, and remained so long into the imperial period, two separate studies on each area will be carried out of which the volume in hand is the first one.

It is above all monuments, both images and inscriptions, that communicate the social, cultural, and political identity of religious functionaries in their *polis*. Dedications, foundations and the honours that they earned are evidence of these individuals' financial power. This display of power and resources may manipulate the urban space just as honorary statues for cult personnel, set up by citizens, family members or communities, shape the cities' appearance in varying intensity and form.

The studies in the present volume approach the material in different ways, from both historical and archaeological perspectives, analysing the cultural manifestations through which we can trace the social construction of priestesses and priests. These social constructions are tied to the functionaries' sacral duties for the city, but also to their perception by themselves and others as a part of the citizen body. Some of the articles place in the foreground the priests' and priestesses' roles in their cities' religious politics, as well as economic and gender-specific aspects (Anja Klöckner, Stephen D. Lambert, Eric Perrin-Saminadayar). The studies on late Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique Athens (Eric Perrin-Saminadayar, Marietta Horster, Erkki Sironen, Jan N. Bremmer) also examine the influence of changing political conditions – Hellenistic monarchies, the Roman empire, Christianity – on priestly offices and on the identity and public image of the people who held them.

Most of the studies in the present volume were presented and intensively discussed at a workshop on Athenian priests in Berlin in March 2010. With their thoughtful and critical contributions as respondents at the Berlin workshop, Uta Kron, Ralf von den Hoff and Sarah Hitch played an important part in the improvement of the papers which are published in this volume. Two workshop contributions have not been included in our collection of published papers: the lecture by Tony Spawforth on 'Cult and priesthood in the late-first century BC Greece: the influence of Rome?' will be published as part of his monograph *Reflections of the Augustan Programme of Cultural Reform* (in press); and Thoralf Schröder (FU Berlin) presented one aspect of his doctoral dissertation in progress on Attic portrait sculpture in a paper entitled 'Bekränzte Porträts im römischen Athen. Darstellungen von Priesterinnen und Priestern'.

Both the workshop and this collection of papers on 'Civic Priests in Hellenistic and Roman Athens' were financially supported by the German Science Foundation (*dfg*). The workshop was part of the *dfg*-'Schwerpunktprogramm 1209' *Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform*.

We were hosted by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and were especially welcomed by Klaus Hallof, research coordinator of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

We are also indebted to the editors of the series *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* for accepting our project for publication and to the publishing house de Gruyter, Berlin for its generous support.

The process of editing the texts and the final publication would never have come to an end without Anika Strobach's diligent and patient work as proof-reader and copy editor, Orla Mulholland's careful and time-consuming handling of the non-native English texts and Melanie Winter who indexed all the papers and produced the indices at the end of this volume.

Bibliography

Geertz, C. (1966) 'Religion as a Cultural System'. In: *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion,* ed. by Michael Banton, London, 1–46 (reprinted in: C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York, 87–125).

Priests, priesthoods, cult personnel – traditional and new approaches

MARIETTA HORSTER

Abstract: A systematic summary of the issues and topics addressed in recent research on priests and cult personnel is presented here and of the concrete findings this research has achieved; in conclusion, a review is offered of existing and potential new areas for further study of priests and cult personnel and their place within the social and religious life of their societies.

1. The state of research

Sociology of religion[1] has made a range of attempts at a systematic account of religious authority and thus also of the priests and other cult personnel who embody that authority in many societies.[2] The functionalist approach, developed especially by Bronislaw K. Malinowski, saw religion as a means of managing crisis, through initiation rites or burial rituals, for example.[3] This was challenged in a 1966 critique by Clifford Geertz, who called for a scientific approach in which religious symbols – and that includes religious functionaries – are related to social-structural processes only on the basis of knowledge of the codes and systems of meaning within which they operate. For Geertz, religion does not merely react to different social orders, but also shapes them. Religious action is thus social action (in Max Weber's sense): it is orient-

1 The founding father of sociology of religion, Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), in 1912 developed the thesis that religion has the function of achieving integration in society: the social actions that arise in the context of religion are pre-programmed by society's expectations, and through religion the egoism of the individual is made subject to norms and rules that are geared towards the community. On this see also Hock 2002: 75.

2 See the overview in Hock 2002: 77–99 on the 'ideal types' developed by Max Weber and Kurt Goldammer, among others, of prophetic, cultic-priestly and mystic religions; their characteristics include the authority and social function of their religious functionaries.

3 Cf. Young 1991.

ted towards the behaviour of others and is part of a semantic system of social relations.

The 'ideal types' of religions and religious functionaries developed by sociologists of religion and anthropologists cannot be forced onto the great variety of attested historical forms and developments, but they can still be used as heuristic principles when analysing the interaction between social and political systems and their religious symbols and practices, in this case as embodied by priests and the other personnel and functionaries associated with sanctuaries and cult. In the last few decades, research has increasingly focused on the interaction between religious and political or social structures. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood and Josine Blok, in particular, argued that the female cult personnel of the publicly financed cults had a 'political' role in the classical period at least.[4] Sarah Aleshire, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood and others have also questioned the dichotomy of 'public' versus 'private' cults and have rightly stressed the role that both these types of organisation and finance played in the integration and identity both of individual citizens and residents and of the citizen body as a whole.[5] In the handbook *Religions of the Ancient World – A Guide* edited by Sarah I. Johnston in 2004, some of the contributors on Greek religion[6] used concepts from sociology of religion and cultural history to explain the different ways in which religious practices and symbols are embedded and develop in groups and polities. Parallel to these developments in the study of Greek religious and cultural history, the approach to the study of the iconography of cult and religious personnel shifted from a rather positivistic search for the identification of priests in the various types of monuments to a research on the interaction between the world of images and the political and social structures.[7]

Wide interest in Greek religion in the 19th century led to the first extensive publications on cult personnel, and the study of the topic was promoted by the collection of all the *Leges Sacrae* known at that time.[8] In these 'Sacred Laws', alongside rules for behaviour by visitors to sanctuaries, the priests' duties were set out and regulations passed about their behaviour, rights and privileges. These regulations almost always concerned a single sanctuary. They were not comprehensive catalogues of rules and prescribed behaviour, and they were not decreed by the

4 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, Blok 2004, 2005, cf. Horster 2010a.

5 Aleshire 1994, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 1990, Pirenne-Delforge 2005.

6 Chaniotis 2004, Parker 2004a, Price 2004, cf. also the contributions to the *ThesCRA* 2005.

7 E.g. Connelly 2007, von den Hoff 2008.

8 E.g. cult personnel: Martha 1882; *Leges Sacrae*: von Prott/Ziehen 1896–1906.

priests but by the citizenry, in the same way that the citizens passed decrees on all other matters of the *polis*. In the collections of Sacred Laws, the editors also included texts concerning cults and sanctuaries that set in stone the rules for a group (e.g. a subsection of the state or a private cult association) or individual (e.g. the founder of a sanctuary or cult) responsible for a cult.[9] In many cases, these inscriptions, which mostly stood at the entrance to the sanctuary, were probably set up in response to misbehaviour.[10] This is how we should understand explicit prohibitions and threatened punishments for cult personnel who demand more than their share of the victims and offerings.

Parallel to the growth and publication of epigraphic material in the course of the 20th century, a series of monographs on priesthoods and other cult personnel also appeared. However, the main focus of research in the area of religion was at first primarily the investigation and presentation of the cults in individual regions and cities, from the classical to the imperial period, for example Rhodes, Boeotia, northern Ionia, Macedonia or Athens.[11] The literature on mystery cults and Orphism also continued to grow.[12] Another focus has in recent decades been the economy of religion and cult, with a central interest in temple loans and leases and the sale of priesthoods.[13]

For some time now, research on religious functionaries as such has been dominated above all by gender studies, or, more accurately –

---

9 There is a survey of this material and of the history of scholarly analysis of the Sacred Laws in Parker 2004b and Lupu 2005: 3–112, who addresses the cult personnel in these laws esp. at 40–54.

10 This is a different case from the notices about appropriate clothing in many churches in present-day Italy, which were originally a reaction to tourists unfamiliar with or indifferent to the social practices of a strongly Catholic community. In contrast, the regulations in the sanctuaries of the Greek *poleis* were for the most part directed towards their own citizens (and other residents of the city), who would have been thoroughly familiar with the relevant rules of behaviour.

11 Morelli 1959, Schachter 1981, 1986, 1994, Graf 1985, Hatzopoulos 1994, Parker 1986, Mikalson 1998.

12 There is a large number of studies, including Henrichs 1978 on Dionysos cults and Maenads in the Hellenistic period; Jaccottet 2003, 2005 on cult associations for Dionysos; Kron 1992 on cults of Demeter; Clinton 1974 on the cult personnel of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis; Pakkanen 1996 on the mystery cults of Demeter and of Isis in early Hellenistic Athens.

13 Debord 1982, LeGuen-Pollet 1988, Linders 1992, Davies 2001, 2002, Dignas 2002, Parker and Obbink 2000, 2001, Wiemer 2003, Horster 2004, Migeotte 1995, 2002, 2006. The problems of an investigation of 'the economy of cults' *e.g.* the investment in cult with buildings, infrastructure, the use of costly material, a large (and expensive) cult-statue, expensive and/or many votives become obvious in Pemberton 1996 and in some of the papers in Linders/Alroth 1992.

because the comparative aspect of gender tends to be neglected – by the study of the role of women in cult and religion.[14] These studies of women focus especially on two aspects: the importance of women in cult and the role of women in society that arises from this. Many of these studies are collections of material, verging on the antiquarian, that seldom differentiate in time, space and political context.[15] Statements about priestesses of Athena in classical Athens, the Athenian *arrephoroi* of the Hellenistic period, the priestesses of Athena and Demeter of the Hellenistic period in Priene or those of Asklepios on Kos, or the priestesses of Asia Minor or Lakonia in the imperial period are often presented side by side without distinction. This neglect of the historical and political dimension, the regional and local character of cults and cult practices, and above all the failure to include the comparative material about male cult personnel can at times lead to an overstatement of the role of women in cult.[16]

2. The state of knowledge

After this review of the key questions and trends in research in recent decades, a summary can now be offered of the central findings that have been established about the position and integration of religious functionaries in Greek *poleis*, based on the rich variety of sources and the existing published scholarship.

The priests and priestesses in the cities were the most important religious authorities in the *polis*, even though they had hardly any part in the actual decision-making processes about religion, cults, sanctuaries, finances and priesthoods.[17] Unlike Roman religion, Greek priest-

14 Turner 1983, Osborne 1993, van Bremen 1996, Dillon 2002, which, despite the title, also examines the Hellenistic period, Kron 1992, 1996, Blok 2004, Georgoudi 2005, Marcellesi 2005, Horster 2006, 2010a, Connelly 2007, Kaltsas/Shapiro 2009 in which, again despite the title, monuments and phenomena of the Hellenistic period are addressed, and Bodiou/Mehl 2009, both containing a large number of individual studies, Eule 2001 and Schmidt 2010, who also treats honorary statues for women and their role as priestesses.

15 E.g. Dillon 2002, Connelly 2007.

16 However, this criticism does not apply to the revised assessment of the role of women in the cities, because in this case a corrective was needed after decades of underestimating the role and function of women in the civic community. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, Kron 1996, Blok 2004, Horster 2010a.

17 Authority and decision-making powers: Garland 1974, 1990, Aleshire 1994, Kearns 1995, Parker 2004; 2005: 89–115, Chaniotis 2008; finances: Dignas 2002, Davies 2001, 2002, Horster 2004, Migeotte 2006.

hoods were specifically assigned to a particular divinity or, less frequently, to a number of them. The priesthoods were often of a specific gender, matching that of the divinity, but there are many exceptions to this, such as the male priest of Artemis in Magnesia on the Maeander in the 2nd century BC.[18]

The priests and priestesses and some of the cult personnel might be appointed in various ways. Some priesthoods were hereditary or restricted to a single family or larger association (e.g. the *gene* in Athens).[19] The family/association might make the selection itself, or at least a preliminary selection from which a magistrate, the assembly and/or the council would make the final choice. As well as in the major 'public' cults, this hereditary character was also common in the case of private founders of cults and their families. This link to a single family might continue even if the cult, though originally private, was subsequently adopted into the group of state-financed cults and included in the religious calendar. As well as hereditary appointments, some were made by election or lot, or by combinations of the two.[20] The sale of priesthoods was another option, though it is concentrated in a limited geographical area (*inter alia* the eastern Aegean islands and western Asia Minor) and period (2nd–1st centuries BC).[21]

There is no necessary correlation between the way the appointment was made and the term of office, even though it seems that most hereditary priesthoods were held for life while those chosen by election or lot were more often appointed annually or for a longer, fixed-term period (e.g. the interval between festivals). There is a political aspect, in that democracy is more often associated with appointments by election or lot, while oligarchy and aristocracy are associated with hereditary appointments, and there seems to be regional and local variation in the preferred selection procedures. In certain cults and cities, there are also changes in procedure between the classical and late Hellenistic periods, which may be related to changing political and social conditions.

---

18 *I. Magnesia* 98.

19 On the origins of these types of cults (private cults of one family that were then taken over by the *polis*, or alternatively cults that were 'public' from the start but which paid tribute to these families on account of their standing or wealth at the time of the foundation) and on the definition and significance of the *gene*, cf. the differing assessments by Roussel 1976: 65–78, Bourriot 1976 and Parker 2005: 56–66. 284–327. On the change in the role of the *gene* in the priesthoods and cults in Athens, cf. Blok/Lambert 2009 und Aleshire†/Lambert 2011.

20 Lupu 2005: 44–52. For more details see Blok/Lambert 2009, Lambert 2010 and Horster in the chapter on eponymy and annuity of priesthoods in this volume.

21 Parker/Obbink 2000, 2001, Dignas 2002, Horster 2006, Buraselis 2008.

The qualifications for entering office were purely formal. Citizen status was a necessary qualification in public cults, and in some cases, such as hereditary priesthoods, membership of a particular family or group was also required. Unblemished physique and health were a precondition. Depending on the demands of a given priesthood, appropriate financial resources had to be available. The priest/priestess took office after a ritual that included ablution, sacrifice and sometimes also a banquet, but the details varied.

In many cases the religious functionaries received a fee to cover the financial expenses of the sacrifice and special rites which they conducted, and in other cases they also received additional gifts and perquisites. The 'income' of the priest or priestess was distinct from the income of the sanctuary or divinity and was intended for the personal use of the priest or priestess; it included small sums of money, but principally consisted of a share of the sacrificial offerings, such as meat, the hide, wine, oil, honey, grain or cakes.[22]

In almost all cults, individual citizens and other visitors were permitted to sacrifice, pray and present dedications by themselves. Special regulations might limit this practice, to the benefit of the priests/priestesses. However, it was above all at the sacrifices and festivals controlled, and often also financed, by the citizenry as a whole that cult personnel had to be present to complete and supervise certain rites. The priests and priestesses and other important cult personnel also had a range of other duties, but here too there were local variations, from city to city and between cults within a single *polis*. These duties might, but need not, include the following: care of the cult statue and maintenance of the sanctuary, the preservation and inventory of the votive offerings in the sanctuary, responsibility for the observance of rules of behaviour in the sanctuary, or supervision of the sanctuary finances. The details of how these duties were (ritually) fulfilled might vary greatly, as can be seen from the list of Athenian religious functionaries' duties in Ludwig Deubner's 1932 publication *Attische Feste* ('Attic Festivals'), or in the imperial-era author Pausanias, where the variety is striking. Pausanias had a special interest in local peculiarities of cult practice and he draws attention to unusual ways of appointing priests or other cult personnel and focuses especially on the unique tasks of the personnel of a given cult in a single place in Greece in the mid-2nd century AD (or the preceding period too).

Attempts at categorisation are consequently very difficult in many aspects of the study of priests and cult personnel. On the one hand,

22 Cf. LeGuen-Pollet 1988, Loomis 1998: 76–87. 273–274.

religious functionaries chosen or confirmed by the people seem to have had a position similar to that of the magistrates, and in some cases, depending on the rules set out by each *polis*, they were obliged to present a report annually or at the end of their term of office like other appointed civic functionaries. On the other hand, it is not only Aristotle who regarded the priesthoods as belonging to a different category from those of the magistrates.[23] The purification rituals on entering office, the variability of the term of office, and the fact that women could fulfil these duties all illustrate the difference between priesthoods and magistracies.[24]

A small number of cases from the Hellenistic period hint that, in conflicts between city and sanctuary, and above all when the divinity's money had been misappropriated by the city, some priests saw their role not as a part of the citizenry but as the god's representative and – if it came to it – they were not afraid of a confrontation with the magistrates or citizens.[25]

This special commitment to a divinity was probably also expected of the other religious functionaries, and not only the priests and priestesses, though in their case it was expected to a special degree. Their religious authority was after all based solely on their special link to the divinity, and it was this alone that gave them a certain religious aura and immunity.[26]

In the appointment procedures, duties and roles of religious functionaries reviewed here, a number of groups have not yet been considered. One such group are the officials appointed to fulfil clearly defined tasks in the context of cult and religion, such as *epistatai, hieropoioi, tamiai* and ambassadors such as *theopropoi* or *theoroi*.[27] Another group not yet mentioned are the so-called religious experts, who held a special status in the *polis* or in larger communities or regions on account

23 Arist. *Pol.* 1322b18–29, cf. 1328b 11–13.

24 On the term *arche, archai* in the categorisation of the priests in the Hellenistic period, cf. van Bremen 1996: 22, 25–26.

25 EKM *I. Beroia* 3 (248 BC): the city had used funds of the god Herakles in unauthorised ways. The priest of Herakles had applied to Demetrios II, who then demanded in his letter to a magistrate of the city that the funds be paid back into the god's treasury.

26 This is made clear by the anecdotes and stories about attacks on priests and priestesses, e.g. Plut. *Alc.* 29.5 or the many acts of this type recounted by Herodotus, which are generally followed by suffering and punishment of the evildoer by the gods.

27 Cf. on *hieropoioi*: Smith 1968, on *tamiai* in Athens: Ferguson 1932, Linders 1975.

of their special gifts, in the case of prophets, or special knowledge, in the case of *chresmologoi*.[28]

The first group, the officials tasked with specific religious duties, shows how firmly religion and cult were embedded in the *polis*, for the 'administration' of religion was just as much a part of *polis* culture as was every other area of politics and administration. These men counted as regular magistrates or, in a few cases, as special commissioners; they are never called 'priest', *hiereus* in Greek, and their role was never termed a priesthood, *hiereia*.

The second group, including the *manteis* and *chresmologoi*, had a special status, in that almost none of the characteristics set out above – from appointment to care of a sanctuary – apply to them. Nonetheless, at least a few of them practised permanently at sanctuaries administered by a *polis* or larger entity and should be included in the group of religious functionaries. They still differ from priests or priestesses, given their special skills, divine vocation and very limited, specialist tasks in cult; members of this group include prophets like the Pythia in Delphi. It is understandable, though not strictly appropriate, that she is often classed as one of the priests and priestesses in modern research literature.[29] *Chresmologoi* and *manteis*, on the other hand, are 'independent' religious experts who could be consulted if needed, but whose reputation could be quite dubious, especially in the case of the *manteis*.[30]

The religious aura and authority commanded by the priests/priestesses and other important cult personnel, as discussed above, was not necessarily based on personal prestige or on the standing in the Greek world (or 'rank') of the divinity they served.[31] Most sanctuaries were not as famous, large and wealthy as those of Apollo of Delphi or Delos, Hera of Argos or Samos, Athena of Athens, or Artemis of Ephesos. All the same, the priests or priestesses of the principal divinity in any city, even the smaller ones with no regionally significant sanctuaries, will have been well known in their own community. They and the priests of the other public cults played a central role in the city's major festivals

28 A survey of modern research on prophecy and divination is provided by Johnston 2005. Burkert 2005 shows this as a rational activity aimed at special forms of modelling reality and social interaction, the better to manage crises and conflicts. On the terms *chresmologoi* and *manteis*, which are used in various senses, see Dillery 2005.

29 Thus the literary tradition on the Pythia is cited in Connelly 2007 as important evidence of the significance of priestesses in Greek (late archaic to imperial) society.

30 Dillery 2005, Flower 2008, Trampedach 2008.

31 The concept of the prestige that supposedly attached to priesthoods is used in this way by Parker 2004a. On the high prestige of some less important priesthoods in Athens, cf. von den Hoff 2008.

and sacrifices, irrespective of the size or importance of the city or its festival.[32] On the other hand, priesthoods were seldom eponymous beyond the boundaries of their own sanctuary.[33] Anecdotes in the literary tradition record the names of priests and priestesses and their good deeds or other acts. Some were specially commended in their cities through honorary decrees, statues, crowns or other honours granted by the community of citizens.[34] In contrast, the great mass of cults had only small altars and did not even have a sanctuary in every case. The priests and priestesses of these 'small cults' probably made no impression as benefactors or for any other reason in the Hellenistic (and imperial) *poleis*, and they are therefore missing from the epigraphic record of most Hellenistic and imperial-period cities. Even the existence of these many smaller cults, some of which were 'public cults', is often known only from votive inscriptions and references in other contexts, such as the lists of sales of priesthoods, rather than through honorary inscriptions or by priests' names on larger votives.[35] These priesthoods were numerous but of secondary rank in the city, matching the level of importance of their cult, and few, if any, of them will have enjoyed a privilege such as an honorary seat in the front rows of the city theatre. For this reason, Robert Parker's 2004 picture of the priests/priestesses of a city appearing in the theatre as a single, united group is not in fact convincing. The inscriptions preserved in Athens on (imperial-era) theatre seats reveal a clear concentration on city cults

32 On the role of cult personnel and city magistrates in the festivals of the Hellenistic period, cf. Chaniotis 1995.

33 On eponymy, see Horster in this volume.

34 Cf. on the iconography of the statues and honorary monuments Kron 1996, Mantis 1990, Lindner 2003, Connelly 2007, von den Hoff 2008; on the spatial context of the statues, Höghammer 1993 on Kos, Dillon 2010 especially on female portrait statues, including the priestesses in Athens and Delos at the time of the Athenian domination; Eule 2001 on priestesses in Asia Minor. On honorary statues dedicated on the Athenian acropolis, see Schmidt 2010. On the language of the honorary decrees in the classical period in Athens, see Veligianni-Terzi 1997: 307–309, who gives a summary of the honours for religious functionaries.

35 The large numbers of small public and private cults are revealed, for example, by the evidence collected in Graf 1985 for the northern Ionian cults. A brief survey of the problem of the transmission of evidence in selected late Hellenistic and imperial cities in Greece and Asia Minor in Horster 2006 reaches the conclusion that in almost every city the epigraphic material shows a clear predominance by a small number of priesthoods in each city (depending on the size of the city and the quality of the preserved evidence). In general, the priesthoods highlighted in this way are those occupied by individuals who also made contributions to city life in other ways. The reference to a priesthood in the epigraphic material is therefore often dependent on something other than the religious context.

whose priests/priestesses are also known by name from other inscriptional contexts.[36] Some of the seats are even assigned by name and must have been intended to honour a particular person, and not to promote the standing of a priesthood as such. Further, the form (throne-like chair or just part of a seating row) and location (front or centre, or further back or at the side) of the seats in the theatre create a clear hierarchy among the priesthoods and their occupants.

Aside from the independent religious experts mentioned above, we have so far discussed only religious functionaries who carried out their duties on behalf of the citizenry or, as in the case of the amphictionies, for a number of citizen bodies. In the Greek *poleis* there was also a large number of cults that were organised and financed by subsections of the citizen body or by foreigners, cult associations or individual families or persons. These cults, too, varied widely in the size of their sanctuaries and the numbers of people involved in them or visiting them; they too had their own priests and often other cult personnel as well.[37] As with the 'public' cults organised by the citizenry as a whole, the organisational forms and the duties of the personnel of these other cults were by no means uniform. These other cult organisations are attested from the late archaic period on, with good documentation for the Hellenistic period; they evidently played a large part in the religious life of the cities.

For some scholars, the appearance of this private type of cult organisation and, often linked to it, the growth of mystery cults, healing cults and the 'oriental' cults in the cities indicates that religious life had become increasingly individualised and private in the Hellenistic period.[38] On this model, it is a characteristic of the Hellenistic period that the individual retreated from the community of *politai*, a retreat expressed in these types of individualistic religious preferences. This thesis of a 'flight of the individual'[39] into a personal religion and a retreat from the civic religious community in Hellenistic period has been contested by Graf 1995 and Chaniotis 2004 among others, but further studies are still needed of particular cases. This debate is clearly central to the question of how citizen identity and religious expression relate to

36 Maaß 1972, cf. also Connelly 2007: 206–211.

37 Cf. for Athens, Ferguson 1944, Behrend 1970, Lambert ²1998, Arnaoutoglou 2003; for Greece, Asia Minor and the Aegean, van Straten 1993, Chaniotis 2004, Suys 2005 and numerous contributions in the collection by Nielsen 2006, which pursue a functional analysis approach to the spaces used by cult associations.

38 Nilsson ²1950: 185–309, Festugière 1954: 37–67, Gehrke 1990: 185–192, Mikalson 1998.

39 Thus labelled by Graf 1995: 103.

each other, but the many different influences and factors involved in local developments have not yet been thoroughly examined.[40]

The question of whether to characterise the Hellenistic *politai* either as politically engaged or as essentially de-politicised in their actions as citizens is also central to the study of the social and political functions of cult personnel and of the various religious functionaries' engagement in the civic community. The growing number of private cult associations is taken to be an argument for the increasingly apolitical character of civic activities and the de-politicisation of religion. Phenomena like the sale of priesthoods, the growth of private cult associations and the growing presence of Egyptian and oriental cults continue to be interpreted in the research literature as an expression of society's increasing individualism and hence as an element in the political and social disintegration of the Hellenistic city's community of residents and citizens.[41] An example of this is the development on Rhodes, where there are around 200 known organisations that take their name from a divinity.[42] The many Orphic and Egyptian cults in Hellenistic cities were also maintained by this type of cult organisation. In the foreign cults on Delos, the onomastic study of the cult personnel has been especially revealing. In the 3rd and 2nd century, the priests of Atargatis on Delos were of Syrian origin but, in contrast to the situation in their homeland, they were not full-time priests. Instead, like most priests of Greek divinities, their duties as priests were carried out in addition to their main profession. It appears that, after more than 100 years of attested existence, the Egyptian cults in the Serapeion of Delos for Sarapis, Isis and Anubis and the oriental cults, above all for Atargatis and Aphrodite Syria, worshipped in the so-called Syrian sanctuary on Delos, were 'released' from their character as private cult associations after the end of independence and the take-over by the Athenians in 166 BC. They were also 'de-orientalised' and Athenians increasingly took on the role of priests. It seems that some of these cults were even

40 There is a similar debate about building activities in the Hellenistic period, concerning an increase in profane buildings and, perhaps, less attention to new construction and/or extension or completion of temple complexes. It remains to be investigated whether the temples as buildings and the sanctuaries as public spaces do in fact lose their power as symbols of civic identity, through the 'competition' from newly built public spaces that function as platforms for self-representation by individuals or the citizen body. Thus e.g. Linfert 1995 in his study of ostentatious altars shows that there is intensive production of this kind of altar-building, beginning in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC.

41 Cf. the remarks in Chaniotis 2004.

42 Cf. Gabrielsen 2001, though he is only concerned with the economic potential of the Rhodian associations.

adopted into the group of cults controlled and financed by the city.[43] When foreign cults were integrated into civic life, the original titles for the priests were not always maintained, perhaps because of their unfamiliar character for Greeks. The names of the divinities were also increasingly assimilated to Greek ones, with only additional epithets marking them as originally foreign gods.[44]

On Delos, the honours that were granted to foreigners in the context of their cult associations assimilated their public image and self-presentation to that of the *honoratiores*, citizens of the city, as did the dedications and buildings that they financed. They were presented in the manner of citizens-*honoratiores*. The role of the cult associations in promoting the integration of foreigners, whose presence on Delos and Rhodes was especially strong because of the extensive maritime trade and traffic, could also be important in increasing the Hellenistic cities' attractiveness – to the foreigners themselves, but also to the citizens, whose contact with foreigners and their cults made the new cults appealing.

Apart from some themes like cult associations and foreign cults, in many of the aspects that have been mentioned, such as cult economy, the duties of the cult personnel, mystery cults, and research into women's roles, the Hellenistic period plays a larger role than the classical period simply because there is a far larger quantity of evidence. However, very few studies relate this Hellenistic and early imperial evidence to the parallel developments in society as a whole: the new or changed systems of values, new political conditions in the *poleis*, the political and social systems of reference beyond the cities created by the kingdoms and *koina*, the phenomenon of specific types of representation (of self or others) in images and inscriptions, the role and relation of euergetism and city finance, the economic context and changed social structures (such as 'nouveaux riches' in Asia Minor or demographic change),[45] the increasingly literate character of society, increasing mobility and, linked to that, the growth of 'foreign' cults in cities and the growth in pilgrimage, etc.

---

43 On the history of the oriental and Egyptian cults on Delos cf. Bruneau 1970: 457–480, Baslez 1977. For the integration of the cults of Bendis and Asklepios into the civic cults of Athens (already in the classical period), see Garland 1992.

44 In Athens there is a comparable development of cults that were initially privately organised, like that of the Thracian goddess Bendis, taken over by the *polis* in the 5th century, Asklepios in the course of the 4th century and Isis in the 3rd century: late Aleshire 1989: 15f.; Parker 1996: 160–61. 170–175.

45 A series of publications has focused on the economic aspect of religion in the Hellenistic and Roman period, e.g. Debord 1982, Dignas 2002, but the diachronic perspective and local aspects are not always given sufficient attention.

Certainly, there are studies of these phenomena individually.[46] However, it is only in the rarest of cases that they address religion, cult practices or cult personnel. Nonetheless, these studies do offer important starting-points for a research focus in which the survey and detailed analysis of the sources on religious functionaries is combined with their (locally and regionally differentiated, supra-regionally shared) socio-political contexts including the cultural practices, religious traditions, urban conditions, etc.: the 'social construction' of these historical records, and the images that they communicate.

3. Research developments and requirements

By addressing these neglected aspects in the study of religious phenomena and the role of priests and cult personnel, it will be possible to achieve progress in the study of important themes that are currently a focus of research interest. These include:

- the 'political' role of female cult personnel,
- the modern issue of a dichotomy of 'public' versus 'private' cults,[47]
- the role of priests in a community's religious politics (related issues are their expertise, authority and prestige),[48]
- the way a 'religious landscape' is shaped by rituals, religious practices and monuments, including the actions, monuments and inscriptions by and for religious functionaries,[49]
- the significance of the sale of priesthoods from the perspective of religious policy,
- the relevance and role of so-called *Leges Sacrae*[50] in assessing the importance of individual cults and their personnel's service to a community (the *polis* or cult association),

46 E.g. euergetism: Gauthier 1985 und Kron 1996 and van Bremen 1996 on female benefactors. On the increasingly literate character of society in the Hellenistic period, see Harris 1989, Cribiore 2001; on pilgrimage, see Dillon 1997, who however barely touches its effects on the organisation of sanctuaries and the demands it placed on the cult personnel. On foreign cults, see e.g. Dignas 2008.

47 E.g. Arnaoutoglou 2003, Chaniotis 2004, Pirenne-Delforge 2005, Parker 2005, Suys 2005, Nielsen 2006, Dignas 2008, Horster 2011.

48 Recent studies: Parker 2004, 2005, Price 2004, Chaniotis 2008, Guettel Cole 2008, von den Hoff 2008. For studies of Roman priesthoods, see the collection by Richardson/ Santangelo 2011.

49 E.g. Calame 2007, Horster 2010b.

50 See above with note 9.

- the economy of cult, including funding of sacrifices and other rituals by priests, the fees to priests and, as already mentioned, the sale of priesthoods.

A discussion of the modern concepts involved is necessary in every case, as is especially evident in discourses that invoke the terms 'private' and 'public', but also in debate about the ways in which religious practices and symbols (including the religious functionaries) are embedded in groups and polities and shape them to differing degrees. The use of modern terms and concepts to describe and analyse ancient religious ordering systems, their functionaries, and their effects on the stability, identity and self-consciousness of the cities will also open up new perspectives on many of these much-discussed historical sources and monuments. Each of the various cities, regions, political structures and historical periods needs to be approached and evaluated differently to establish the role of religious functionaries as one of the mechanisms of integration that enabled the cities to continue into the post-classical period and allowed them to keep functioning under changed political conditions.

The investigation of the 'social construction' of religious functionaries – that is, the ways that the sources are embedded and shaped by socio-political structures, linguistic culture, cultural practices and symbols, the representation of values, and projections of civic ideals and identities – needs to be made more concrete through studies of both content and method. The presence and manifestation of these socio-political structures in the public space of the Hellenistic and early imperial *poleis* form the broader context. Within this, Attica – the *polis* Athens and its hinterland (plus for a short period also Delos) – has a unique role already in the Hellenistic period, thanks not just to its especially rich sources. Athens becomes a role-model, Athenian culture is idealised as the 'classical' tradition, and Athen's history, it's political and religious institutions, it's cults and festivals are historicised, with effects both within and beyond the city itself.

4. Bibliography

Aleshire, S. B. (1989). *The Athenian Asclepieion: The People, their Inventories, and their Dedications*. Amsterdam.

– (1994). 'The Demos and the Priests. The Selection of Sacred Officials at Athens from Cleisthenes to Augustus'. In: *Ritual, Finance, Politics*, ed. by R. Osborne, S. Hornblower, Oxford, 325–337.

Aleshire, S. B. †, Lambert, St. (2011). 'The Attic *Gene* and the Athenian Religious Reform of 21 BC'. In: *Priests and State in the Roman World*, ed. by J. H. Richardson, F. Santangelo, Stuttgart, 553-575.

Arnaoutoglou, I. N. (2003). *Thusias heneka kai sunousias. Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens*. Athen.

Baslez, M.-F. (1977). *Recherches sur les conditions de pénétrations et de diffusion des religions orientales à Délos (IIe–Ier s. av. n. ère)*. Paris.

Behrend, D. (1970). *Attische Pachturkunden.* München.

Blok, J. (2004). 'Recht und Ritus der *Polis*: Zu Bürgerstatus und Geschlechterverhältnissen im klassischen Athen', *HZ* 278: 1–26.

– (2005). 'Becoming Citizens. Some Notes on the Semantics of "Citizen" in Archaic Greece and Classical Athens', *Klio* 87: 7–40.

Blok, J., Lambert, St. (2009). 'The Appointment of Priests in Attic Gene', *ZPE* 169: 95–121.

Boudiou, L., Mehl, V. (2009). (eds.). *La religion des femmes en Gréce ancienne. Mythes, cultes et société.* Rennes.

Bourriot, F. (1976). *Recherches sur la nature du génos: Étude d'histoire sociale athénienne – périodes archaïque et classique*. Lille.

Bruneau, Ph. (1970). *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*. Paris.

Buraselis, K. (2008). 'Priesthoods for Sale. Comments on Ideological and Financial Aspects of the Sale of Priesthoods in the Greek Cities of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods'. In: *Religion and Society. Rituals, Resources and Identity in the Ancient Graeco-Roman World. The BOMOS-Conferences 2002–2005*, ed. by A. H. Rasmussen & S. W. Rasmussen, Rome, 125–131.

Burkert, W. (2005). 'Signs, Commands, and Knowledge: Ancient Divination between Enigma and Epiphany'. In: *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient Divination*, ed. by S. I. Johnston, P. T. Struck, Leiden/Boston, 29–49.

Calame, C. (2007). 'Gardens of Love and Meadows of the Beyond: Ritual Encounters with the Gods and Poetical Performances in

Ancient Greece'. In: *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency* ed. by M. Conran, Washington, 43–54.
Chaniotis, A. (1995). 'Sich selber feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenismus im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Politik.' In: *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, ed. by M. Wörrle, P. Zanker, München, 147–172.
– (2004). 'Religious Organizations and Bodies: Greece'. In: *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. by S. I. Johnston, Cambridge Mass., 319–321.
– (2008). 'Priests as Ritual Experts in the Greek World'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Julian*, ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 17–34.
Clinton, K. (1974). *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Philadelphia.
Connelly, J. B. (2007). *Portrait of a Priestess. Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*. Princeton/Oxford.
Cribiore, R. (2001). *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton/Oxford.

Davies, J.K. (2001). 'Rebuilding a Temple: The Economic Effects of Piety'. In: *Economies beyond Agriculture in the Classical World*, ed. by D. J. Mattingly, J. Salmon, London, 209–229.
– (2002). 'Temples, Credit, and the Circulation of Money'. In: *Money and its Uses in the Ancient World,* ed. by K. Shipton, A. Meadows, Oxford, 117–128.
Debord, P. (1982). *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine*. Leiden.
Deubner, L. (1932). *Attische Feste*. Berlin.
Dignas, B. (2002). *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Oxford.
– (2008). '"Greek" Priests of Sarapis?'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Julian*, ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 73–88.
Dillery, J. (2005). 'Chresmologues and *Manteis*: Independent Diviners and the Problem of Authority'. In: *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient Divination*, ed. by S. I. Johnston, P. T. Struck, Leiden/Boston, 167–231.
Dillon, M.P.J. (1997). *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*. London.
– (2002). *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*. London
Dillon, Sh. (2010). *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*. Cambridge.
Durkheim, E. (1912). *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: la système totémique en Australie*. Paris.

Eule, J.C. (2001). *Hellenistische Bürgerinnen aus Kleinasien. Weibliche Gewandstatuen in ihrem antiken Kontext*. Istanbul.
Ferguson, W.S. (1932). *The Treasurers of Athena*. Cambridge Mass.
– (1944). 'Attic Orgeones', *HThR* 37: 61–140.
Festugière, A.J. (1954). *Personal Religion among the Greeks*. Berkeley.
Flower, M. (2008). The Iamidai: A Mantic Family and Its Public Image'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Julian*, ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 187–206.

Gabrielsen, V. (2001). 'The Rhodian Associations and Economic Activity'. In: *Hellenistic Economies*. ed. by Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen, G. J. Oliver, London/New York, 215–240.
Garland, R. (1974). 'Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens', *ABSA* 79: 75–123.
– (1990). 'Priests and Power in Classical Athens'. In: *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. by M. Beard, J. North, London, 49–72.
– (1992). *Introducing New Gods. The Politics of Athenian Religion*. London.
Gauthier, P. (1985). *Les cités grecs et leur bienfaiteurs*. Paris.
Geertz, C. (1966). 'Religion as a Cultural System'. In: *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. by Michael Banton, London, 1–46 (reprinted In: C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York 1973, 87–125).
Gehrke, H.-J. (1990). *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. München.
Georgoudi, S. (2005). '*Athanatous therapeuein*. Réflexion sur des femmes au service des dieux'. In: *Idia kai demosia. Les cadres 'privés' et 'publics' de la religion grecque antique* (Kernos Suppl. 15), ed. by V. Dasen, M. Piérart, Liège, 69–82.
Guettel Cole, S. (2008). 'Professionals, Volunteers, and Amateurs in the Cult of Demeter: Serving the Gods *kata ta patria*.' In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Julian*, ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 55–72.
Graf, F. (1985). *Nordionische Kulte. Religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulten von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia*. Vevey.
– (1995). 'Bemerkungen zur bürgerlichen Religiosität im Zeitalter des Hellenismus'. In: *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, ed. by M. Wörrle, P. Zanker, München, 103–114.

Harris, W.V. (1989). *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge Mass./London.

Hatzopoulos, M. B. (1994). *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine*. Athen.
Henrichs, A. (1978). 'Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', *HSCP* 82: 121–169.
Hock, K. (2002). *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft*. Darmstadt.
Höghammer, K. (1993). *Sculpture and Society : A Study of the Connection between the Free Standing Sculpture and the Society of Kos in the Hellenistic and Augustan Period*. Uppsala.
Horster, M. (2004). *Landbesitz griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Berlin.
– (2006). '(Weibliche) Priesterämter in griechischen Städten – Bemerkungen zum Wandel in der Überlieferung'. In: *The Impact of Imperial Rome on Religions, Ritual, and Religious Life in the Roman Empire*, ed. by L. de Blois, P. Funke, J. Hahn, Leiden/Boston, 194–207.
– (2010a). Lysimache and the Others: Some Notes on the Position of Women in Classical Athens *Epigraphic Studies in Honor of Stephen V. Tracy*, ed. by G. Reger, F. X. Ryan, T. Winter, Bordeaux, 171–186; 363–386.
– (2010b). 'Religious Landscape and Sacred Ground: Relationships between Space and Cult in the Greek World', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 227: 435–458.
– (2011). 'Cults of Dionysus – Economic Aspects', in: *A Different God? Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism*, ed. by R. Schlesinger, Berlin (in print).

Jaccottet, A.-F. (2003). *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du Dionysisme.* Kilchberg (2 Bde.).
– (2005). 'Du thiase aux mystères. Dionysos entre le 'privé' et 'l'officiel''. In: *Idia kai demosia. Les cadres 'privés' et 'publics' de la religion grecque antique* (Kernos Suppl. 15), ed. by V. Dasen, M. Piérart, Liège, 191–202.
Johnston, S. I. (2005). Introduction: Divining Divination, in: *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient Divination*, ed. by S. I. Johnston, P. T. Struck, Leiden/Boston, 1–28.

Kaltsas, N., Shapiro, A. (2009). (eds.), *Worshipping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*. New York.
Kearns, E. (1995). 'Order, Interaction, Authority: Ways of Looking at Greek Religion'. In: *The Greek World*, ed. by A. Powell, London, 511–529.
Kron, U. (1992). 'Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: Das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi', *AA*, 611–650.

– (1996). 'Priesthoods, Dedications, and Euergetism. What Part Did Religion Play in the Political and Social Status of Women?' In: *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. by P. Hellstrom, B. Alroth, Uppsala, 139–182.

Lambert, S. D. ([2]1998). *The Phratries of Attica*. Ann Arbor.
– (2010). 'A *Polis* and its Priests: Athenian Priesthoods before and after Pericles' Citizenship Law', *Historia* 59: 143–175.
LeGuen-Pollet, B. (1988). 'La rémunération des prêtres en Grèce ancienne (Ve s. av. J.–C. – IIIe s. av. J.–C.)', *IH* 50: 149–156.
Linders, T. (1975). *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions*. Meisenheim.
– (1992). 'Sacred Finances: Some Observations'. In: *Economics of Cult in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1990*, ed. by T. Linders, B. Alroth, Uppsala, 9–12.
Linders, T., Alroth, B. (1992) (eds.). *Economics of Cult in the Ancient World.* Uppsala.
Lindner, R. (2003). 'Priesterinnen. Bildzeugnisse zum griechischen Götterkult'. In: *Geschlechterdifferenz, Ritual und Religion*, ed. by E. Klinger, S. Böhm, T. Franz, Würzburg, 53–77.
Linfert, A. (1995). 'Prunkaltäre'. In: *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, ed. by M. Wörrle, P. Zanker, München, 131–146.
Loomis, W.T. (1998). *Wages, Welfare Costs, and Inflation in Classical Athens*. Ann Arbor.
Lupu, E. (2005). *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (NGSL)*. Leiden/Boston.

Maaß, M. (1972). *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen*. München.
Mantis, A.G. (1990). *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερέων στην αρχαία Ελληνική τέχνη*. Athen.
Marcellesi, M.-Ch. (2005). 'Les Hydrophores d'Artémis Pythiè à Milet'. In : *Prosopographie et Histoire religieuse*, ed. by M.-F. Baslez, F. Prévot, Paris, 85–108.
Martha, J. (1882). *Les sacerdoces athéniens*. Paris.
Migeotte, (1995). 'Les finances publiques des cités grecques. Bilan et perspectives de recherche', *Topoi* 5: 7–32.
– (2002). *L'économie des cités grecques*. Paris.
– (2006). 'La gestion des biens sacrés dans les cités grecques'. In : *Symposion 2003. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. by H.A. Rupprecht, Wien, 233–245.
Mikalson, J. D. (1998). *Religion in Hellenistic Athens.* Berkeley.
Morelli, D. (1959). *I Culti in Rodi*. Pisa.

Nielsen, I. (ed.), (2006). *Zwischen Kult und Gesellschaft: Kosmopolitische Zentren des antiken Mittelmeerraumes als Aktionsraum von Kultvereinen und Religionsgemeinschaften* (Hephaistos Bd. 24). Augsburg.
Nilsson, M.P. ([2]1950). *Geschichte der griechischen Religion,* vol. 2. München.

Osborne, R. (1993). 'Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece', *CQ* 43: 392–405.

Pakkanen, P. (1996). *Interpreting Early Hellenistic Religion. A Study Based on the Mystery Cult of Demeter and the Cult of Isis*. Helsinki.
Parker, R. (1986). *Athenian Religion: A History*. Oxford.
– (2004a). 'Controlling Religion: Greece'. In: *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. by S.I. Johnston, Cambridge Mass., 570–572.
– (2004b). 'What are sacred laws?'. In: *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, ed. by E. M. Harris, L. Rubinstein, London, 57–70.
– (2005). *Polytheism and Society in Ancient Athens*. Oxford.
Parker, R., Obbink, D. (2000). 'Aus der Arbeit der Inscriptiones Graecae VI: Sales of Priesthoods on Cos I', *Chiron* 30: 415–449.
– (2001). 'Sales of Priesthoods on Cos II', *Chiron* 31: 229–252.
Pemberton, E. (1996). 'Wealthy Corinth: The archaeological evidence for cult investment at Greek Corinth'. In: *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and* Approaches, ed. by M. Dillon, Amsterdam, 353–366.
Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2005). 'La cité, les *dèmotelè hiera* et les prêtres'. In: *Idia kai demosia. Les cadres 'privés' et 'publics' de la religion grecque antique.* (Kernos Suppl. 15), ed. by V. Dasen, M. Piérart, Liège, 55–68.
Price, S.R.F (2004). 'Religious Personnel: Greece'. In: *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide,* ed. by S.I. Johnston, Cambridge Mass., 302–305.
Prott, I. von, Ziehen, L. (1896–1906). *Leges Graecorum Sacrae e titulis collectae.* Leipzig (2 vols.).

Richardson, J.H., Santangelo, F. (2011) (eds.). *Priests and State in the Roman World*. Stuttgart.
Roussel, D. (1976). *Tribu et cité: Études sur les groupes sociaux dans les cités grecques aux époques archaïque et classique*. Paris.

Schachter, A. (1981; 1986; 1994). *Cults of Boiotia.* London (3 vols.).
Schmidt, R. (2010). 'Mädchen im Heiligtum. Die Arrephoren auf der Akro*polis* im Hellenismus und in der Kaiserzeit'. In: *Die Akropolis*

von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit, ed. by R. Krumeich, C. Witschel, Wiesbaden 2010, 219–232.
Smith, D.R. (1968). *The Function and Origins of Hieropoioi.* Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1988). 'Further Aspects in *Polis* Religion'. *Annali dell' Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sez. Arch. Stor. Ant.* 10: 259–274. (reprinted in: *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion,* ed. by R. Buxton, Oxford 2000, 38–55).
– (1990). 'What is *Polis* Religion?'. In: *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander,* ed. by O. Murray, S. Price, Oxford, 295–322.
– (1995). 'Male and Female, Public and Private, Ancient and Modern'. In: *Pandora. Women in Classical Greece,* ed. by E. D. Reeder, Princeton, 111–118.
Suys, V. (2005). Les associations cultuelles dans la cité aux époques hellénistique et impériale. In: *Idia kai demosia. Les cadres 'privés' et 'publics' de la religion grecque antique* (Kernos Suppl. 15), ed. by V. Dasen, M. Piérart, Liège, 203–218.

ThesCRA (2005): S. Georgoudi, J. B. Connelly, V. Pirenne-Delforge, C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Personnel de culte: monde grec'. in: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* V 2a: 1–65.
Trampedach, K. (2008). 'Authority disputed: The Seer in Homeric Epic'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Julian,* ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 207–230.
Turner, J.A. (1983). *Hiereiai: Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods in Ancient Greece.* PhD Univ. of California, Santa Barbara.

van Bremen, R. (1996). *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods.* Amsterdam.
van Straten, F. (1993). 'Images of Gods and Men in a Changing Society. Self-Identity in Hellenistic Religion'. In: *Images and Ideologies. Self-definition in the Hellenistic World,* hrsg. v. A. Bulloch, E.S. Gruen, A.A. Long, A. Stewart, Berkeley, 248–264.
von den Hoff, R. (2008). 'Images and Prestige of Cult Personnel in Athens between the Sixth and First Centuries BC.' In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Julian,* ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 107–141.
Veligianni-Terzi, C. (1997). *Wertbegriffe in den attischen Ehrendekreten der Klassischen Zeit.* Stuttgart.

Wiemer, H.-U. (2003). 'Käufliche Priestertümer im hellenistischen Kos', *Chiron* 33: 263–310.

Young, M. W. (1991). 'Malinowski, Bronislaw'. In: *International Dictionary of Anthropologists*, ed. by Chr. Winters, New York, 444–446.

Tradition — Repräsentation — Distinktion. Eine Fallstudie zu Reliefweihungen von Priestern im späthellenistischen und römischen Attika*

ANJA KLÖCKNER

Abstract: This paper considers two votives dedicated by Attic priests, the relief of Lacrateides from Eleusis and an Athenian relief of a hierophant, taking them as case-studies of priestly representation and self-fashioning in the late Hellenistic and imperial periods. The analysis shows how dedicants used reliefs as a specific medium through which they could associate themselves and their office with a past seen as exemplary, and could thereby win distinction in the symbolic discourse of their own contemporary world.

Der vorliegende Band widmet sich dem Thema Priester bewusst nicht vor einem weit abgesteckten, epochenübergreifenden Hintergrund, sondern fokussiert auf einen klar umrissenen geographischen Raum in einer bestimmten historischen Phase. In diesem Rahmen strebt mein Beitrag keinen umfassenden Überblick über die Repräsentation von Priestern in der materiellen Kultur an[1], sondern richtet sich auf einen Ausschnitt daraus, nämlich auf die Votive von Priestern. Es wäre durchaus lohnend, auf einer breiten Materialbasis zu untersuchen, inwieweit die Stiftungen von Priestern dem Votivspektrum insgesamt entsprechen und inwieweit es Spezifika gibt, die das Weiheverhalten von Priestern charakterisieren. Eine solch eingehende Analyse kann in diesem Rahmen allerdings nicht geleistet werden. Stattdessen werde ich versuchen, durch Fallstudien Schlaglichter auf das Phänomen zu werfen. Ich werde mich dabei auf zwei Beispiele konzentrieren, die besonders aussagekräftig für das Selbstverständnis und den Repräsentationsanspruch von Priestern im späthellenistischen und römischen

* Für Hinweise, Anregungen und Diskussionsbereitschaft danke ich allen Teilnehmern des Berliner Kolloquiums, besonders Ralf von den Hoff, Uta Kron und Thoralf Schröder, sowie Stefan Brenne, Jens Daehner, Norbert Eschbach und Michaela Stark.

1 Hierzu Mantis 1990; Kron 1996; Lindner 2003; Connelly 2007; von den Hoff 2008.

Attika sind, bislang aber noch nicht im Zusammenhang besprochen wurden.

Für die verfolgte Fragestellung liefert die Publikation von Günther Schörner zu Votiven im späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland eine gute Materialvorlage[2]. Wie Schörner gezeigt hat, ist unter den Stifterinnen und Stiftern der Weihgeschenke der Anteil derjenigen, die in den Inschriften als Inhaber von Kultämtern bezeichnet werden, recht hoch. Von insgesamt 1270 Beispielen betrifft dies 225 Votive, das entspricht einem Anteil von knapp 18%[3]. Auch bei den gut 400 Votiven aus Attika lässt sich ein ähnliches Verhältnis ausmachen[4].

Bestimmte Votivgruppen, vor allem Altäre, werden von Priestern und Sakralbeamten bevorzugt geweiht. Auch bei den Geräte- und Gebäudeweihungen bilden die Stiftungen der Priester einen beträchtlichen Anteil. In anderen Gattungen sind Stiftungen von Priestern weniger vertreten, etwa bei den Porträtstatuen[5]. Sehr selten treten sie explizit als Stifter von Körperteilvotiven in Erscheinung[6]. Allerdings sind die Inschriften dieser unscheinbaren Marmortäfelchen, auf denen verschiedene Körperglieder abgebildet waren und die damit den Wunsch nach bzw. den Dank für Heilung zum Ausdruck brachten, generell eher knapp gehalten. Die Stifter lassen sich hier meist nur mit ihren Individualnamen verewigen, was wahrscheinlich mit dem wenig repräsentativen, auf ein konkretes kultisches Anliegen bezogenen Charakter dieser Votive zu erklären ist.

Zu einer weiteren Votivgattung, den Weihreliefs, gehören die bereits erwähnten Beispiele, auf die ich im Folgenden näher eingehen werde. Rund 100 griechische Weihreliefs aus dem späten Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit sind erhalten, darunter einige Votive von Kultpersonal[7]. Das Material wurde von Schörner in vier Gruppen gegliedert.

---

2 Schörner 2003.

3 Schörner 2003: 142. 637 (Diagramm zu Beruf/Status der Stifter).

4 Schörner 2003: 225–330 Kat. 1–402.

5 Zusammenfassend zu den Stiftungen von Priestern s. Schörner 2003: 144–145.

6 Zum Ohrenvotiv der ἱερεύς Matidia Polla s. Angelicoussis 1992: 101 Kat. Nr. 80. Zu griechischen Gliederweihungen s. Forsén 1996; das Votiv der Matidia ist dort allerdings nicht aufgenommen, auch nicht bei Schörner 2003.

7 Die Auswertung stützt sich vor allem auf die Zusammenstellung des Materials bei Schörner 2003: 29–65. 549–578 Kat. R 1–100. Inschriftlich als Weihungen von Kultpersonal gesichert sind R 24. 33. 42. 43. 44. 72. 73. Auf einem späthellenistischen Relief aus Gytheion, Athen, NM Glypta 1453, hält die Adorantin typische Attribute der eleusinischen Göttinnen und trägt eine ähnliche Frisur wie Kore. Schörner 2003: 191 sieht darin den Ausdruck einer besonderen Beziehung zwischen Gottheit und Adorantin und schlägt vor, es könne sich bei Agathokleia um eine jugendliche Kultdienerin handeln. Zu diesem Relief s. Schörner 2003: 396 Kat. 656. 562 Kat. R 46 Taf.

Mit über 70 Reliefs die größte Gruppe bilden die sogenannten ‚Daseinsbilder'[8]. Auf ihnen sind Gottheiten, aber keine menschlichen Adoranten dargestellt, wie etwa auf einem Weihrelief für Artemis, das der πυρφόρος Alkamenes in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. für die Jagdgöttin und die beiden Eleusinierinnen aufgestellt hat[9]. Deutlich seltener sind die von Schörner als ‚emblematische Reliefs' bezeichneten Votive. Hier steht ein charakteristisches Zeichen, etwa ein Tier oder ein Attribut, für die Gottheit; diese selbst wird nicht dargestellt[10]. Als Beispiel sei ein Weihrelief an Men mit Mondsichel und siebenzackigem Stern aus dem 2./3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. angeführt, das von dem ἱερεύς und στολιστής der Isis und des Serapis, Aurelius Epaphroditos, gestiftet wurde[11]. Noch seltener als die ‚emblematischen Reliefs' sind Weihungen mit mythologisch-narrativen Elementen[12]. Nur wenige Votive sind schließlich der Gruppe der sogenannten ‚Verehrungsreliefs' zuzurechnen, bei denen Kultempfänger und Kultakteur gemeinsam in einem Bild wiedergegeben werden[13]. Solche Darstellungen waren auf

---

7, 2. Die beiden Adoranten auf einem Dioskurenrelief des 2./1. Jhs. v. Chr. aus Larissa, Paris, Louvre MA 746, könnten laut Schörner 2003: 191 „ein Ehepaar, aber auch ein Priesterpaar sein". Zu dem Relief s. Schörner 2003: 529 Kat. 1167. 566 Kat. R 58 Taf. 2.

Der Adorant auf einem klassizistischen Relief in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Inv. 73.AA.124 (Frel 1979: 13 Nr. 54; Frel 1980: 43 Nr. 54; Mantis 1990: 36 Taf. 9 b; Böhm 2004: 10–11. 49–54 Abb. 30) wurde von Geominy 1989: 255 als Priester gedeutet (Abb. 8). Er glaubte anhand der ihm seinerzeit vorliegenden Photos, Stiefel an den Füßen des Adoranten und damit einen Hinweis auf ein eleusinisches Kultamt zu erkennen. Allerdings konnten bei Autopsie des Stückes keine Stiefel ausgemacht werden, s. Böhm 2004: 51 Anm. 185. Auch Jens Daehner (Getty Museum) konnte bei einer erneuten Untersuchung des Stückes Geominys Vermutung nicht verifizieren, laut brieflicher Auskunft vom 18.3.2010: „Die Figur ganz rechts trägt auf keinen Fall Stiefel. Was wie eine gemeißelte Kante über dem linken Fußgelenk aussieht, ist lediglich eine Beschädigung. Sohlen, wie an anderen Figuren, sind nicht zu erkennen. Aber auch Zehen sind nicht angegeben." Jens Daehner danke ich nicht nur für diese Informationen, sondern auch für die großzügige Überlassung von Photos.

8 Schörner 2003: 39.

9 Ehem. Eleusis, Kirche des Hagios Zacharias (H 20 cm, B 18 cm), s. Schörner 2003: 319 Kat. Nr. 359. 561 Kat. R 44 Taf. 40, 2. Die Weihung an Artemis könnte damit zusammenhängen, dass der im Kult der eleusinischen Göttinnen aktive πυρφόρος traditionell auch Priester der Artemis Epipyrgidia war. Zum Amt des πυρφόρος s. Clinton 1974: 94–95; *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 62

10 Schörner 2003: 36–39.

11 Berlin, Pergamonmuseum Nr. 706 (H 40 cm, B 33 cm, T 4 cm), s. Schörner 2003: 285 Kat. 230. 558 Kat. R 33 Taf. 10, 3.

12 Schörner 2003: 35–36.

13 Generell zu den sog. Verehrungsreliefs aus dem späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland Schörner 2003: 33–35. 187–192. Aus Attika: 555 Kat. Nr. R 24 Taf. 4,1 (Hierophant, s.u. Anm. 31). 557 Kat. R 30 Taf. 3,1 (Epheben, für Pan, Apollon,

den klassischen Weihreliefs die weitaus beliebtesten, im Späthellenismus und vor allem in der Kaiserzeit sind sie dagegen ausgesprochen rar. Gerade zu dieser insgesamt sehr kleinen Gruppe gehören zwei Weihungen, die für unsere Fragestellung von großem Interesse sind. Sie zeigen außer den geehrten Gottheiten auch die priesterlichen Stifter selbst, was Aufschlüsse über das Selbstbild dieser religiösen Spezialisten verspricht. Bei den Beispielen, die ich zunächst einzeln nacheinander vorstellen und dann miteinander vergleichen werde, handelt es

---

Hermes und die Nymphen). 561 Kat. R 43 Taf. 7,1 (Lakrateides, s.u. Anm. 15). 568 Kat. R 66 Taf. 1 (Schiffsbrüchiger vor Dioskuren). 569 Kat. R 67 Taf. 8 (nackter Mann unter den Füßen der Nemesis). Nicht beurteilt werden kann ein späthellenistisches Relief aus Athen, EM 8426 (Schörner 553 Kat. R 18), das Isis Dikaiosyne neben einem Adoranten zeigen soll; hierzu liegt keine Abbildung vor.

Außerhalb Attikas: 549 Kat. R 2 Taf. 6,1 (aus Argos, Adorantenpaar, für Eumeniden). 549 Kat. R 3 Taf. 6,2 (aus Argos, Adorant?, für Eumeniden). 562 Kat. R 46 Taf. 7,2 (aus Gytheion, Agathokleia, für Demeter, Kore und Pluton <?>). 566 Kat. R 58 Taf. 2 (aus Larissa, Adorantenpaar bei Theoxenie der Dioskuren). 566 Kat. 60 (aus Mykene, Adorant <?> vor Baumstamm <?>). 568 Kat. R 65 (aus Volos, Frau mit drei – kleineren – Männern, für Artemis, Apollon und Bendis). Vgl. ein Urkundenrelief des 2./1. Jhs. v. Chr. aus Amyklai, auf dem drei männliche Adoranten vor der Lokalgottheit Alexandra dargestellt sind, s. Stiglitz 1953: Abb. 21; Schörner 2003: 191.

Nicht aufgeführt bei Schörner ist ein augusteisches Relief in Malibu mit einem Adoranten vor Demeter, Kore und Triptolemos (Abb. 8, s. o. Anm. 7), das angeblich aus Athen stammen soll. Diese Nachricht kann jedoch nicht als gesichert gelten, da das Stück erstmals im Pariser Kunsthandel aufgetaucht ist (zur Erwerbungsgeschichte des Reliefs Böhm 2004: 49 Anm. 174). Falls das Material, wie von Frel 1979 angegeben, tatsächlich pentelischer Marmor sein sollte, könnte dies für eine Herkunft des Stückes aus Attika sprechen, wenn es auch kein zwingendes Kriterium für eine Zuweisung ist. Angesichts der Beschreibung Frels („with some grain, rather atypical") ist die Bestimmung als pentelisch allerdings zweifelhaft. Die Frage nach der Herkunft des Steins muss offen bleiben, bis eine Marmoranalyse vorliegt. Laut brieflicher Auskunft Jens Daehners vom 31.3.2010 ist das Material „rosa und stellenweise gelblich, von mittelgroßem Korn".

Ein klassizistisches, frühkaiserzeitliches Relief aus der Slg. Grimani in Venedig, AM 126, mit einem Adoranten vor einem heroischen Paar soll ebenfalls aus pentelischem Marmor gefertigt sein, aber über den ursprünglichen Aufstellungsort ist nichts bekannt, s. Traversari 1973: 32 Kat. Nr. 10 m. Abb. auf S. 33; Böhm 1999. Sowohl bei diesem Relief als auch bei dem o.a. Stück in Malibu ist eine Verwendung als Votiv nicht gesichert.

Es fällt auf, dass für Demeter und Kore im Untersuchungszeitraum außer dem Relief in Malibu und den oben genannten Beispielen der ‚Verehrungsreliefs' (Schörner 2003: Kat. R 24. 43. 46) keine anderen Weihreliefs bezeugt sind. Votive, auf denen die Stifter den Göttinnen beigesellt sind bzw. ihnen gegenübertreten, stellen für die Eleusinierinnen also nicht eine Form von Weihreliefs unter anderen dar, sondern anscheinend die einzig adäquate.

sich um das Relief des Lakrateides aus Eleusis sowie um das Votiv eines Hierophanten aus Athen[14].

1. Das Relief des Lakrateides aus Eleusis

Das Lakrateidesrelief[15] (Abb. 1) wurde von Rudolf Heberdey und Wolfgang Reichel im Jahre 1892 aus über 60 Bruchstücken zusammengesetzt, die man zum größten Teil im Bereich des Agélastos Petra, dem sogenannten Plutonion[16], gefunden hatte. Ungefähr die Hälfte des zu einem unbekannten Zeitpunkt bewusst zerstörten Denkmals[17] konnte auf diese Weise wieder rekonstruiert werden. Mit einer Höhe von 1,80 m und einer Breite von 3 m besitzt das Votiv wahrhaft monumentale Maße. Es ist unter allen bislang in Eleusis gefundenen Reliefs das größte und wird in seinen Abmessungen auch von keinem Weihrelief anderer Provenienz übertroffen[18]. Aufgestellt wurde es von Lakrateides aus Ikaria, einem ἱερεύς des Theos, der Thea und des Eubuleus[19], für sich, seine Söhne Sostratos und Dionysios sowie für seine Frau Dionysia; von den in der Inschrift aufgeführten Empfängern des Votivs sind die Namen von Demeter, Kore, Theos, Thea und Eubuleus erhalten[20]. Der Stifter und seine Familie sind auch durch andere epigraphische

14 Beide sind eingebunden in zeitgenössische Konjunkturen hinsichtlich der Vorliebe für bestimmte Gattungen; in diesem Fall der Weihreliefs. Ein Fünftel der Weihreliefs aus dem späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland wurde wie das Lakrateidesrelief im späteren 2. und im 1. Jh. v. Chr. geschaffen, annähernd ein Drittel ist wie das Hierophantenrelief dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. zuzurechnen, s. Schörner 2003: 31.

15 Eleusis, Museum Inv. 5079 (H 1,80 m, B ca. 3 m, D 10 cm), s. Heberdey 1898; Mylonas 1961: 197–199 Abb. 71; Clinton 1974: 97 Nr. 1; Stewart 1979: 53–55. 78 Abb. 23 c; Clinton 1992: 51–53. 135 Nr. 3 Abb. 5–7; Palagia 1997: 82–83; Vikela 1997: 230–232; Schörner 2003: 317 Kat. Nr. 351. 561 Kat. R 43 Taf. 7, 1; *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 64 Nr. 312. 64–65 Nr. 325; von den Hoff 2008: 139–140. Gute Farbaufnahmen bei Papangele 2002: 243 Abb. 246–255. Zur Inschrift *IG* II² 4701. Zum Namen des Stifters s. Osborne – Byrne 1994: 279 s. v. Lakrateides (8).

16 Gegen diese traditionelle Bezeichnung Clinton 1992: Kap. 1.

17 Zu der intentionellen Spaltung des Blocks Heberdey 1898: 111.

18 Ebenfalls von beeindruckendem Format, aber ursprünglich deutlich schmaler als das Lakrateidesrelief ist das sog. Diotimarelief aus Mantineia in Athen, NM 226 (H 148 cm, B 80 cm), das bislang als hochklassisches Werk galt, von Hans Goette aber jetzt mit überzeugenden Argumenten kaiserzeitlich datiert wird. S. hierzu Comella 2002: 214 Kat. Nr. Mantineia 1 Abb. 74; Kaltsas 2002: 132 Kat. Nr. 254; Goette 2011, im Druck.

19 Zu diesem Amt Clinton 1974: 97; *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 62.

20 *IG* II² 4701. Die Lesung der Inschrift folgt Clinton 1992: 52.

Zeugnisse belegt. So war Lakrateides Thesmothet des Jahres 98/97 v. Chr.[21] Dies legt eine Datierung des eleusinischen Reliefs an das Ende des 2. oder den Anfang des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. nahe.

Das figurenreiche Votiv zeigt nicht nur ein Panoptikum der eleusinischen Gottheiten, sondern auch, mitten unter diesen, den Stifter selbst. Ikonographisch ist die Identifizierung der dicht gedrängten, zum Teil nur sehr fragmentarisch erhaltenen Personen nicht immer einfach. In einigen Fällen helfen hier Namensbeischriften weiter, die in den Reliefgrund eingetieft sind.

Die linke Bildhälfte ist der Aussendung des Triptolemos gewidmet. Die thronende Demeter wendet sich dem auf seinem Schlangenwagen sitzenden Triptolemos zu; dargestellt war das traditionelle Sujet der Ährenübergabe. Hinter dieser Szene sind der inschriftlich benannte Pluton und Reste der fackelhaltenden Kore zu sehen. Am linken Bildrand steht ein Junge in langärmeligem Chiton und einer fransenbesetzten Chlamys, der in der linken Hand Getreideähren hält. Neben ihm sind geringe Reste einer stehenden weiblichen Gestalt erhalten, die vermutlich als Personifikation von Eleusis zu interpretieren ist[22].

Die Figuren auf der rechten Hälfte des Reliefs sind um einen Gott gruppiert, der auf einem aufwendig gestalteten Thron nach links gewandt sitzt. Eine Beischrift neben dem stark beschädigten Kopf benennt ihn als Theos. Er trägt ein Himation um die Hüfte und ein Szepter in der rechten Hand, sein linker Arm hängt locker herab. Seine Kultgenossin Thea steht, wie eine weitere Beischrift verrät, zu seiner Rechten. Sie wendet sich fast frontal aus dem Relief heraus und zieht ihren Mantel über der rechten Schulter nach oben. Den rechten Rand des Reliefs nimmt ein Jüngling in einem kurzen Ärmelchiton ein. Er hat lange, lockige Haare und hält im linken Arm eine Fackel. Zwischen ihm und dem thronenden Theos steht im Profil nach links ein Mann im Himation, den eine Namensbeischrift als den Stifter Lakrateides ausweist. Die Figur ist zu großen Teilen zerstört. Ein Teil seines linken Armes ist neben der rechten Schulter des am Bildrand stehenden Jünglings zu erkennen[23], seine in das Gewand eingeschlagene rechte Hand hinter dem Haupt des Theos. Sein Kopf ist ungefähr zur Hälfte erhalten (Abb. 2). Die Kalotte sowie die komplette Kinn- und Unterkieferpartie

21 *IG* II² 2336 Z. 196. Hierzu und zu den epigraphischen Belegen für die Söhne des Lakrateides s. a. Clinton 1974: 97 Nr. 1.

22 Heberdey 1898: 112; Clinton 1992: 52 Anm. 124.

23 Auf dem Bruchstück des linken Armes sind zwei Blattspitzen auszumachen; gut zu erkennen auf der Farbabbildung bei Papangele 2002: 255; s. a. Heberdey 1898: 113. Ob sie zu der Figur des Lakrateides oder zu einem Attribut des Fackelhalters gehören, ist angesichts des fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustandes nicht zu klären.

fehlen. Über der unteren Bruchkante lässt sich noch der Ansatz eines Vollbarts erkennen. Das lange, lockige Haupthaar ist mit einem Strophion geschmückt[24]. Tiefe Falten auf der Stirn, Krähenfüße um die Augen und die schlaffe Gestaltung der Wangenpartie kennzeichnen Lakrateides als älteren Mann.

Von den in der Inschrift genannten Personen, also dem Stifter Lakrateides, seinen Söhnen Sostratos und Dionysios sowie seiner Frau Dionysia, wird ersterer anscheinend als einziger auf dem Relief dargestellt. Zwar glaubte George Mylonas, die beiden jeweils am Bildrand stehenden Jünglinge als Söhne des Lakrateides bestimmen zu können, aber dies ist aus mehreren Gründen nicht überzeugend[25]. Anders als die Figur des Stifters besitzen die der Jünglinge dieselbe Relieftiefe wie die der Gottheiten; außerdem wenden sie sich ebenso wie diese frontal aus dem Bildfeld heraus, während Lakrateides im Profil wiedergegeben ist. Schließlich sind sie kompositionell weder aufeinander noch auf Lakrateides bezogen. Es kann sich also nur um Gottheiten, nicht um Menschen handeln. Wahrscheinlich ist mit der Figur am linken Bildrand Plutos, mit der am rechten Bildrand Eubuleus gemeint. Außer den Söhnen fehlt auch die Frau des Lakrateides unter den dargestellten Personen[26].

Ralf von den Hoff erklärt dies damit, dass im Hellenismus die Rolle der Familie für die Repräsentation von Priestern nachgelassen habe, weil deren Prestige nun vor allem durch ihren Reichtum begründet wurde[27]. So richtig diese Feststellung an sich ist, so fragwürdig ist allerdings ihre Anwendung auf den konkreten Fall; schließlich bezieht Lakrateides seine Angehörigen explizit in die Weihinschrift, also in ein wichtiges rituelles und repräsentatives Dokument, mit ein. Die Familie spielt für ihn durchaus eine Rolle, sie wird jedoch nicht dargestellt. Offenkundig will der Stifter gerade im Bild seinen Familienangehörigen keinen Platz einräumen, und genau das ist erklärungsbedürftig.

Ein möglicher Grund hierfür könnte in spezifischen Kultregularien für eleusinische Priester liegen. So forderte zum Beispiel das Amt des Hierophanten von seinen Inhabern zumindest temporär Enthaltsamkeit, wenn nicht sogar eine zölibatäre Lebensweise[28]. Inwieweit für den

---

24 Zu den retrospektiven Zügen in diesem Porträt s. u. S. 40 mit Anm. 54.

25 Mylonas 1961: 198. Vgl. hierzu Heberdey 1898: 116 mit Anm. 1; Clinton 1992: 53 Anm. 126.

26 Vgl. Clinton 1992: 52 Anm. 124.

27 von den Hoff 2008: 141.

28 Der Hierophant praktizierte Enthaltsamkeit laut Epict. *Diatr.* 3.21.16 = *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 63 Nr. 287. Laut Paus. 2.14.1 war der Hierophant in Eleusis unverheiratet. Diese Verpflichtung zur Enthaltsamkeit galt zumindest für die Dauer der Mysterien-

ἱερεύς des Theos und der Thea ähnliches galt, ist nicht bekannt; so wie es überhaupt nur wenige Informationen zu diesem spezifischen Kultamt gibt[29]. Allerdings hält es Kevin Clinton mit Bezug auf eine Stelle bei Julian für durchaus plausibel, dass alle, die in Eleusis Kultämter innehatten, wenigstens zeitweise zu Enthaltsamkeit verpflichtet waren[30]. Vor diesem Hintergrund wäre es nachvollziehbar, dass eine Darstellung im Familienkreis für einen Akteur wie Lakrateides als unpassend empfunden wurde, da man die visuell explizite Verbindung eines eleusinischen Priesters mit Frau und Kindern vermeiden wollte.

2. Das Relief des Hierophanten aus Athen

In Athen wurde 1959 ein Relief gefunden[31], das laut Weihinschrift ein Hierophant aus dem in Westattika gelegenen Demos Hagnus[32] für die Thesmophoriengöttinnen aufgestellt hat: θεσμοφόροισι θεαῖς· Ἁγνούσιος ἱεροφάντης (Abb. 3). Aus stilistischen Gründen ist das Votiv in frühantoninische Zeit zu datieren[33].

Die mit 63 x 68 cm nahezu quadratische Marmorplatte ist vorzüglich erhalten. Abgesehen von der linken unteren Ecke ist sie vollständig, die Oberfläche kaum beschädigt. Die Platte wird an allen vier Seiten von einer schmalen Leiste gerahmt. An der unteren Rahmung ist

---

feierlichkeiten, war aber anscheinend nicht auf den Lebensstil insgesamt bezogen, s. Clinton 1974: 44–45. 46; Parker 1983: 88 Anm. 55.

29 Hierzu s. o. Anm. 19.

30 Jul. *Or.* 5.173 c–d (ed. Hertlein); Clinton 1974: 116.

31 Athen, 3. Ephorie, Magazin der Attalosstoa (H 63 cm, B 68 cm), s. Daux 1960: 637 Taf. 13; Vanderpool 1960: 268 Abb. 1 Taf. 73, 17; Harrison 1965: 95; Travlos 1971: 294 Abb. 383; Clinton 1974: 32–34 Nr. 23 Abb. 3; Follet 1976: 259–260; Bergmann 1977: 81 Anm. 316; LIMC IV (1988) 868 Nr. 285* s. v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992: 75–76. 139 Nr. 1 Abb. 55; Zanker 1995: 352 Anm. 83; Raeder 2000: 157 mit Anm. 23 Beil. 5, 4–7; Rumscheid 2000: 3 Anm. 30; Schörner 2003: 555 Kat. Nr. R 24 Taf. 4, 1; Böhm 2004: 106–110 Abb. 66–67; *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 65 Nr. 326*.

32 Zur Lage von Hagnus s. Traill 1975: Plan 2.

33 Hierzu zuletzt Böhm 2004: 106–110. Daux 1960: 637 datiert das Relief in das späte 1. Jh. n. Chr., Zanker 1995: 352 Anm. 83 hadrianisch, Raeder 2000 späthadrianisch-frühantoninisch. Eine Datierung in das späte 2. / frühe 3. Jh. n. Chr. vertritt Bergmann 1977: 81 Anm. 316.

Der Vorschlag von Follet 1976: 259, den Stifter des Reliefs mit dem Hierophanten Logismos aus Hagnus in Verbindung zu bringen, ist rein spekulativ. Wie Clinton 1974: 32 ausführt, lässt sich, abgesehen von den stilistischen Kriterien, der Hierophant aus Hagnus historisch nicht näher einordnen. Allerdings gebe es „no place for the hierophant from Hagnous in the list of hierophants of the second century except before the latter part of the reign of Antoninus Pius".

kein Ansatz für einen Zapfen zu erkennen, mit dem man das Relief auf einem Träger hätte befestigen können. Dies spricht zusammen mit der Zurichtung des Reliefs auf der abgeschrägten Rückseite dafür, dass die Platte ehemals in eine Wand eingelassen war[34]. Die Arbeit ist von guter, deutlich über dem Durchschnitt liegender Qualität[35].

Dargestellt sind die beiden Göttinnen, denen sich von rechts ein Adorant nähert. Die linke Bildhälfte wird von der thronenden Demeter eingenommen. Sie hat ihren linken Arm auf ein Szepter gestützt, die Füße ruhen auf einem Schemel. Persephone steht in der Mitte des Reliefs. Abweichend von der konventionellen Ikonographie trägt sie, wie ihre Mutter, einen Peplos. Ihr Haar ist bedeckt vom oberen Saum des Himations, das in ihrem Rücken tief hinab fällt[36]. In der gesenkten Linken hält sie eine Fackel. In dem den beiden Göttinnen zugewandten Adoranten ist der Stifter selbst zu erkennen. Er ist nicht wesentlich, aber doch merklich kleiner als jene dargestellt.

Direkt unter dem Adoranten ist auf der unteren Rahmung derjenige Teil der Inschrift angebracht, in der der Stifter als Hierophant bezeichnet wird. Damit besitzen wir in diesem Bild die einzige gesicherte Darstellung eines solchen Priesters. Unter seinem Himation trägt er einen Ärmelchiton, dessen Saum am rechten Handgelenk deutlich zu erkennen ist. Seine Füße stecken in kunstvoll verzierten Stiefeln. Dem prächtigen Schuhwerk kommt offensichtlich eine wichtige Rolle für die Charakterisierung des Hierophanten zu. Dies zeigen gleich mehrere bildliche Gestaltungsmittel. Der Himationsaum ist so weit hochgezogen, dass die aufwendigen Stiefel nicht verdeckt werden. Der Blick des Betrachters wird nicht nur durch die auffällige Faltenführung des Gewandsaumes an der rechten Wade auf das Schuhwerk gelenkt, auch die Fackel in der linken Hand Kores und ihr locker ausgestreckter rechter Zeigefinger weisen in diese Richtung.

In der erhobenen rechten Hand hält der Hierophant einen senkrecht nach oben weisenden stabartigen Gegenstand. Man hat in ihm ein

34 Böhm 2004: 18. Als Beispiel für ein in eine Wand eingelassenes Relief kann das *in situ* gefundene Telephosrelief aus dem Cubiculum der Casa di Telefo in Herculaneum dienen, s. Froning 1981: 15 Taf. 33; Böhm 2004: 19. Die Abschrägung der Rückseite ist zu erkennen bei Travlos 1971: Abb. 383.

35 Zur Einordnung des Stückes in das Qualitätsspektrum der Weihreliefs des 2. Jhs. s. Schörner 2003: 32.

36 Zu diesen ‚unklassischen' Zügen, die den eklektischen Charakter des Reliefs erweisen, Böhm 2004: 109–110. Zur klassischen Ikonographie der Eleusinierinnen s. Peschlow-Bindokat 1972; zu den Trachtunterschieden zwischen Demeter und Kore ebenda 98–99.

langes Szepter erkennen wollen[37], aber das Bild gibt keinen Hinweis darauf, wie weit er nach unten reichte. Führt man die Konturlinien des Stabes weiter, so verschwinden diese schräg hinter der Hüfte Kores. Die Kontur neben Kores linkem Bein kann also nur zu deren Gewand und nicht zu dem länglichen Gegenstand gehören. Vergleicht man diesen mit einem eindeutig als Szepter charakterisierten Attribut auf demselben Relief, nämlich dem Szepter Demeters, zeigen sich deutliche Unterschiede. Letzteres ist dünner und besitzt einen deutlich abgesetzten Knauf an der Spitze. Der Hierophant hält in seiner Rechten demnach kein Szepter, sondern eher eine Fackel[38].

Seine linke Hand umfasst einige Blätter bzw. Blüten. Die Darstellung gibt zwar keinen Hinweis auf deren Bestimmung, aber man leitet aus der literarisch bezeugten Verwendung von Myrte im eleusinischen Kult ab, dass es sich um diese Pflanze handelt[39]. Das vollbärtige Gesicht zeigt einen reifen Mann ohne prononcierte Alterskennzeichnung (Abb. 4). Ein Strophion und ein Blütenkranz, vermutlich ebenfalls aus Myrten, schmücken sein lockiges Haar. Die üppige Haar- und Barttracht des Stifters entspricht einerseits dem Geschmack der Entstehungszeit, lässt sich andererseits aber auch mit der κομή in Verbindung bringen, die als typisch für Hierophanten galt[40].

Der Hierophant ist also mit Elementen einer typischen eleusinischen Kulttracht dargestellt, für die es etliche ikonographische Parallelen und zum Teil Belege in der antiken Literatur gibt[41]. Die majestätische, würdevolle Erscheinung, die von den höchsten eleusinischen Kultbeamten erwartet wurde, geprägt von σεμνότης und εὐπρέπεια, finden hierin ihren gelungenen Ausdruck[42]. Ob das Bild jedoch in allen Einzelheiten eine getreue Wiedergabe der Amtstracht eines Hierophanten geben soll, wie häufig angenommen wird, muss als fraglich

37 Zu den unterschiedlichen Identifizierungsvorschlägen als Fackel oder Szepter Böhm 2004: 106 Anm. 509. Als Szepter deuten den Gegenstand Raeder 2000: 157; Rumscheid 2000: 3 Anm. 30. Dieser Benennung liegen allerdings keine ikonographischen Argumente zugrunde, sondern die Erwartung, dass, laut Raeder, ein Szepter eher als eine Fackel „die führende Stellung dieses Kultbeamten verdeutlichen würde".

38 So auch Geominy 1989: 255 mit Anm. 48.

39 Laut Istros, *FgrH* 334 F 29 = *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 63 Nr. 284 tragen Hierophant, Hierophantiden, Daduch und die anderen Priesterinnen einen Myrtenkranz.

40 Epict. *Diatr.* 3.21.16; Plut. *Arist.* 5.6–7.

41 Zur Hierophantenikonographie Balty 1982: 263–272; Geominy 1989: 255 mit Anm. 48–49; Clinton 1992: 75–76. 139 Nr. 1 Abb. 55; Raeder 2000; *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 61. Zur eleusinischen Ikonographie Clinton 1992.

42 Athen. *Deip.* 1.21 d–e.

gelten. Da es sich um das einzige Beispiel handelt, besteht hier die Gefahr eines Zirkelschlusses[43].

Der Stab in der Rechten des Hierophanten gehört jedenfalls nicht zu den geläufigen Attributen seines Amtes. Wie oben dargelegt, handelt es hierbei wahrscheinlich um eine Fackel, was in diesem Zusammenhang als Anspielung auf das Amt des Daduchen[44], des zweithöchsten Priesters in Eleusis, zu verstehen ist. Ikonographisch sind in der Figur des Stifters damit Attribute der beiden wichtigsten eleusinischen Kultbeamten vereint. Nimmt man noch die inschriftliche Weihung an die Thesmophoriengöttinnen hinzu[45], dann wird das Bestreben deutlich, mehrere Aspekte des Kultes von Demeter und Kore zu verknüpfen und so eine möglichst umfassende Hommage an diesen Kult in seinen verschiedenen Facetten zu liefern. Der Stifter präsentiert sich auf diese Weise als selbstbewusster Akteur in verschiedenen traditionsreichen Ritualkontexten.

Der Fundort des Stückes liefert weitere Hinweise für dessen Interpretation. Er liegt zwischen dem Hadrianstor und einer römischen Therme, in einem Gebiet, das von kaiserzeitlicher Bebauung geprägt ist. Das Votiv stammt aus einem nördlich des Olympieion gelegenen Haus, dessen Architektur auf das 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zurückgeht, das aber in römischer Zeit umgebaut und benutzt wurde[46]. Man fand das Relief mit der Bildseite nach unten im Inneren des Hauses liegend. Genauere Informationen zur Fundsituation und zur Verortung innerhalb eines bestimmten Raumes liegen nicht vor. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass das Relief tatsächlich in dem Haus aufgestellt war. Dabei ist fraglich, ob dies auch dem ursprünglichen Aufstellungskontext entspricht oder ob hier eine Zweitverwendung vorliegt. Da die Oberfläche sehr gut erhalten ist und keine nennenswerten Verwitterungsspuren zeigt, kann die Platte nicht über längere Zeit hinweg ungeschützt im Freien aufgestellt gewesen sein. Eugene Vanderpool nahm

---

43 Dies gilt vor allem dann, wenn im Vergleich zu diesem Relief andere Darstellungen aufgrund ihrer Übereinstimmungen bzw. Abweichungen als Darstellungen von Hierophanten bestimmt werden sollen; vgl. z. B. Clinton 1974: 33. Auch außerhalb der eleusinischen Bilderwelt werden Kultakteure z. T. ikonographisch ähnlich wie der Hierophant auf dem Athener Relief gekennzeichnet. Vgl. z. B. den Opfernden mit Ärmelgewand, Stiefeln und Binde auf einem Mosaik aus Cuicul in Djemila, s. Geyer 1977: 142–153 Taf. 14; Merkelbach 1988: 224 Abb. 20 (Detailaufnahme).

44 Zum Amt des Daduchen s. Clinton 1974: 47–68.

45 Die Weihung eines männlichen Stifters an die Thesmophoriengöttinen ist erklärungsbedürftig, auch wenn es vereinzelt männliche Akteure im Umkreis des eigentlich exklusiv weiblichen Thesmophorienkult gibt, z. B. die Kabarnoi im Kult der Demeter Thesmophoros auf Paros. Hierzu s. RE 18.2.2, 1949: 1842–1844.

46 Zur Fundsituation Vanderpool 1960: 268 Abb. 1.

deswegen an, das Relief sei von dem Hierophanten zwar bestellt und in dessen Privathaus ausgeliefert, aus ungeklärten Gründen aber niemals im Heiligtum aufgestellt worden[47]. Diese Erklärung ist allerdings keinesfalls zwingend. Es ist vielmehr durchaus denkbar, dass das Relief von Anfang an für die Aufstellung im bzw. am Haus konzipiert wurde. Vergleichbare Fälle, in denen Weihreliefs in kaiserzeitliche Wohnkontexte eingebunden wurden, finden sich in Italien, Griechenland und auch in Athen selbst[48]. Ein solcher Aufstellungszusammenhang bedeutet nicht zwangsläufig, dass die Reliefs eine rein dekorative Funktion besessen hätten. Für das Hierophantenrelief ist das allein schon aufgrund der sorgfältig angebrachten, gut lesbaren Weihinschrift auszuschließen[49]. Das Votiv wird wahrscheinlich ursprünglich zur Ausstattung eines privaten Sakralbezirks innerhalb des Hauses bzw. des Gartens gehört haben[50].

In einem solchen Kontext dürfte der Stifter, auch wenn sein Name in der Inschrift nicht genannt wird[51], für jeden Betrachter sofort zu identifizieren gewesen sein: zu seinen Lebzeiten war der Hierophant aus Hagnus in Athen sicher allgemein bekannt. Falls es sich bei dem Stifter des Reliefs und dem Besitzer des Hauses um dieselbe Person gehandelt haben sollte, erübrigt sich die Frage der Identifizierung ohnehin. Dennoch stellt sich die Frage, warum auf die Nennung des Eigennamens verzichtet wird. Platzmangel oder Gedankenlosigkeit scheiden als Erklärung aus, dafür ist die Inschrift zu sorgfältig komponiert. Mit ihrem knappen Wortlaut wirkt sie zwar zunächst schlicht, ist aber als Hexameter gebildet. Eine solche metrische Inschrift weist den Stifter als πεπαιδευμένος aus. Neben der sprachlichen Form zeigt auch die qualitätvolle Ausführung einen gehobenen Anspruch an. Die einzelnen Buchstaben sind höchst akkurat gearbeitet, das Schriftbild ist sehr gleichmäßig und dem Duktus offizieller Inschriften angeglichen. Da die Inschrift also mit Bedacht gewählt und gestaltet wurde, muss

47 Vanderpool 1960, 268. Zustimmend Böhm 2004: 17.

48 Baumer 1998; Vorster 1998: 280–282; Baumer 2001: 86–89 (Relieffunde aus Rom und Umgebung). 89–90 (Relieffunde aus Campanien). 90–91 (Klassische Weihreliefs im frühkaiserzeitlichen Griechenland). 91–93 (vier spätkaiserzeitliche Fundkontexte in Athen). Klassizistische Stücke wie das Hierophantenrelief hat Baumer allerdings nicht berücksichtigt, s. Baumer 2001: 85 Anm. 1.

49 Darauf weist bereits Böhm 2004: 19 hin.

50 Vgl. Baumer 2001: 93. Vgl. auch ein Weihrelief mit einer weiblichen Göttin, ein Kind auf dem Arm haltend, das in einem Haus in Sunion gefunden wurde, neben einem Perirrhanterion aus Ton, s. Goette 2000: 52 Anm. 118.

51 Wiederholt wurde Hagnusios irrtümlich nicht als Demotikon gelesen, sondern für den Eigennamen des Hierophanten gehalten. Hagnusios oder ähnlich gebildete Namen sind in Attika allerdings nicht belegt, s. Osborne – Byrne 1994.

die Art und Weise, in der der Stifter benannt wird, einen bestimmten Grund haben. Eine mögliche Erklärung liefert die konkrete Kultpraxis in Eleusis. Der Hierophant verlor bei Amtsantritt seinen Eigennamen und nahm seinen Kulttitel als Namen an[52]. Bis zu seinem Tod durfte er in seiner Funktion als Amtsträger nicht mehr mit seinem Individualnamen benannt werden. Alle entsprechenden Zeugnisse deuten darauf hin, dass diese Regel in der Kaiserzeit, in der der eleusinische Kult von einer gesteigerten Geheimhaltung geprägt war, weitgehend befolgt wurde. Die auffällige Ersetzung des Eigennamens durch das Kultamt in der Inschrift des Hierophantenreliefs steht allem Anschein nach mit diesen Gepflogenheiten in Zusammenhang. Gleichzeitig wird der Kulttitel wegen seiner durch das Versmaß bedingten Stellung am Ende der Inschrift besonders betont, werden doch in konventionell aufgebauten Inschriftenformularen von Weihreliefs am Schluss meist die Gottheiten genannt. Diese starke Hervorhebung der rituellen Funktion des Stifters rückt nicht nur dessen Amt in den Vordergrund, sondern verleiht dem Votiv auch eine Aura erhöhter Sakralität.

Mit den beiden besprochenen Reliefs liegen zwei Denkmäler vor, die zwar zeitlich weit voneinander entfernt sind und sowohl in ihrem Format als auch in der Bildkomposition deutliche Unterschiede aufweisen, die aber über den Umstand hinaus, dass es sich jeweils um eine Priesterweihung handelt, eine wesentliche Gemeinsamkeit besitzen. Wie bereits erwähnt, handelt es sich um die einzigen gesicherten Votive attischer Priester aus dem Untersuchungszeitraum, auf denen die Stifter zusammen mit den geehrten Gottheiten dargestellt werden. Die Bilder setzen die Stifter also mit den Kultempfängern in Beziehung und treffen damit Aussagen über deren Selbstverständnis. Um dieses Selbstverständnis in seiner jeweiligen spezifischen Ausprägung zu fassen, sollen die Reliefs nun unter zwei Gesichtspunkten miteinander verglichen werden: zum einen hinsichtlich ihrer Rückgriffe auf klassische Vorbilder, zum anderen hinsichtlich der Beziehung zwischen Mensch und Gottheit.

3. Legitimation durch Tradition

Obwohl beide Reliefs deutlich auf klassische Vorbilder zurückgreifen, werden diese Rückgriffe in signifikant unterschiedlicher Weise umge-

52 Clinton 1974: 9–10. 45. S.a. *IG* II² 1934 = *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 64 Nr. 307. Zu *IG* II² 3811 = *ThesCRA* 5, 2005: 64 Nr. 320 s. a. Clinton 2004: 49–50.

setzt. Der Anspruch der Stifter auf Repräsentation und Distinktion findet dadurch einen jeweils spezifischen Ausdruck.

Beim Lakrateidesrelief sind zahlreiche motivische und typologische Bezüge zu Bildwerken des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zu beobachten, sowohl zur Rund- als auch zur Reliefplastik. Dies betrifft die Darstellung der Gottheiten[53] ebenso wie die des Stifters. So entspricht etwa dessen langes Haupt- und Barthaar nicht dem späthellenistischen Zeitgesicht, sondern rekurriert auf Bildnisse der klassischen Epoche[54]. Diese Klassizismen bleiben aber punktuell, während der Gesamteindruck des großformatigen Reliefs mit seiner figurenreichen, gestaffelten Darstellung vollkommen unklassisch ist. Bei dem Hierophantenrelief hingegen sind nicht nur die einzelnen Figuren klassizistisch geprägt, sondern das Votiv als Ganzes spielt auf Weihreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. an. Von der Rahmung über die Bildkomposition bis hin zum Darstellungsinhalt gehen die Bezüge, die in einer eklektischen Neuschöpfung miteinander verbunden werden. Das Bestreben, ein klassisches Votiv möglichst weitgehend zu imitieren, ist offensichtlich. Anders als beim Lakrateidesrelief werden die Vorbilder nicht nur zitiert, sondern auch reproduziert.

In seinen Maßen kommt das Hierophantenrelief den Abmessungen der aufwendigeren klassischen Weihreliefs nahe. Unterschiedlich ist lediglich das Verhältnis von Breite und Höhe. Während die klassischen Votive meist querrechteckig sind, ist das Hierophantenrelief annähernd quadratisch. Damit entspricht es anderen klassizistischen Reliefs, die häufig ähnlich Formate und Proportionen aufweisen[55]. Das Lakrateidesrelief mit seinen gewaltigen Ausmaßen findet dagegen unter den typischen klassischen Weihreliefs keine Vergleiche. Der Stifter zeigt mit dem hier betriebenen Aufwand sehr deutlich seine materielle Leistungsfähigkeit an[56]. Die Entscheidung, ein Votiv dieser Größe darzubringen, diente aber anscheinend nicht nur der Zurschaustellung von Wohlstand. In dem ursprünglichen Aufstellungskontext in Eleusis musste jeder Betrachter unweigerlich einen Vergleich zu einem weiteren Relief aus demselben Heiligtum ziehen. Die Rede ist von einem bedeutenden und gleichzeitig atypischen klassischen Relief, das, wie die späteren Kopien zeigen, auch in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit weit-

53 Vgl. z. B. zu der Figur des Theos Böhm 2004: 97; zur Figur der Demeter Schörner 2003: 46.

54 Auf die retrospektiven Züge in seinem Porträt hat bereits Ralf von den Hoff aufmerksam gemacht, s. von den Hoff 2008: 139.

55 Beispiele bei Böhm 2004: 52 Anm. 193.

56 von den Hoff 2008: 141: „his prestige was based on wealth – evidenced by the large fomat of the marble relief".

hin geschätzt war: dem über 2 m in der Höhe und 1,5 m in der Breite messenden Großen Eleusinischen Weihrelief aus den Jahren um 430 v. Chr.[57] Das Lakrateidesrelief ist zwar etwas niedriger, aber dafür doppelt so breit. Diese Formatsteigerung gegenüber dem klassischen Relief macht den Anspruch, sich mit der Vergangenheit zu messen und diese sogar zu übertreffen, evident[58]. Während der Hierophant klassische Vorbilder in eklektischer Manier nachahmt, will Lakrateides sie übertrumpfen.

Der Aufstellungskontext beider Reliefs ist noch in weiterer Hinsicht aussagekräftig. Lakrateides bindet sein Votiv in die Traditionslinie des Heiligtums von Eleusis ein und setzt diese fort, wenn auch mit einem demonstrativen Überbietungsgestus. Als Rezipienten wurden offenbar sämtliche oder, je nach der heute unbekannten konkreten Einbindung in die Kultstätte, zumindest ein Teil der Besucher des sakralen Ortes angesprochen. Das Hierophantenrelief dagegen stammt allem Anschein nach nicht aus einem alten, öffentlichen Heiligtum, sondern aus einem privaten Kultbezirk außerhalb des Sakralraums der Polis. Dem klassizistischen Relief kam hier wohl die Aufgabe zu, nicht nur eine religiös aufgeladene Aura zu schaffen, sondern für die neu eingerichtete Kultstätte eine vorgebliche Tradition zu konstruieren. Der avisierte Rezipientenkreis ist in einer solchen Umgebung natürlich wesentlich kleiner als der des Lakrateidesreliefs. Obwohl der exakte Aufstellungsort im Haus und damit der Grad der Zugänglichkeit für Besucher unbekannt ist, könnte man hier doch Insiderkommunikation sprechen.

Dies fügt sich in die kulturelle Attitude der gebildeten kaiserzeitlichen Elite, die ihr Selbstbild durch Bezüge auf eine als vorbildhaft empfundene Vergangenheit sowohl schuf als auch legitimierte. Das Phänomen artikuliert sich in verschiedenen Bereichen gerade auch der materiellen Kultur, von der Münzprägung über die Porträtplastik bis hin zur Architektur. Erinnert sei in diesem Zusammenhang etwa an die Kosmetenporträts, die dezidiert auf bestimmte klassische und frühhellenistische Bildnisse zurückgreifen oder an die Stiftungen und Bauten des Herodes Atticus[59]. Dass der Stifter des Hierophantenreliefs diesem schlagwortartig als ‚Zweite Sophistik' bezeichneten kulturellen Milieu zuzurechnen ist, ergibt sich nicht nur aus seiner hohen sozialen Stellung, die er aufgrund seines Kultamtes innegehabt haben muss;

57 Athen, NM 126, gefunden neben der Kirche des Hagios Zacharias (H 220 m, B 152 m, D 15 cm), s. Schneider 1973; Kaltsas 2002: 100–101 Kat. Nr. 180 m. Abb.; Micheli 2002; Papangele 2002: Farbabb. auf S. 222–225.

58 Vgl. Schörner 2003: 30.

59 Zu den Kosmetenporträts s. Krumeich 2004; d' Ambra 2005; Krumeich 2008a. Zu Herodes Atticus s. Galli 2001; Galli 2002.

schließlich besaß der Hierophant eines der prestigeträchtigsten Priesterämter im kaiserzeitlichen Athen[60]. Es zeigt sich auch in seiner Selbststilisierung als πεπαιδευμένος, die in der oben beschriebenen Gestaltung seines Votivs deutlich wird, etwa in der Verknüpfung von Anspielungen auf gleich drei verschiedene Priesterämter und Kulte sowie in der Kombination von vorgeblicher Einfachheit und Gelehrsamkeit in der Inschrift.

Anscheinend wurden in diesem Milieu gerade Weihreliefs als typische Vertreter der religiösen und kulturellen Tradition verstanden. Dies gilt besonders für Attika, wo man noch in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit in etlichen Heiligtümern die Möglichkeit direkter Anschauung klassischer Weihgeschenke besaß[61]. Einige der Kultplätze mit der höchsten Funddichte an Weihreliefs gehörten bis in die Spätantike hinein zu den am häufigsten frequentierten Stätten, etwa das Demeterheiligtum von Eleusis oder das Asklepieion am Südabhang der Akropolis. In diesem Kontext, in dem Bezüge auf historische Votive leicht erkannt und semantisiert werden konnten, hat man neugeschaffene klassizistische Weihungen ebenso wie klassische Votive in Zweitverwendung bewusst eingesetzt, um mit dem Medium des Reliefs an die Vergangenheit anzuknüpfen und damit eine Anmutung besonderer Ehrwürdigkeit und Religiosität zu schaffen[62].

Für den Bereich der Haus- und Villenausstattung liegen zahlreiche Parallelen vor. Mögen in diesen Kontexten die Reliefs auch zum Teil als Ausstattungsstücke gedient haben, so sind doch sakrale Verwendungen durchaus bezeugt[63]. In öffentlichen Heiligtümern hat man ebenfalls gezielt Reliefs in der geschilderten Absicht eingesetzt. Als Beispiel sei ein Befund aus dem Athener Kerameikos angeführt. Dort hat man in der Kaiserzeit im Hekateion auf der Südterrasse des Kerameikos ein älteres Weihrelief in das Podium neben dem Altar eingefügt

60 Clinton 1974: 36 Anm. 179. 45, mit Verweis auf Plu. *Num.* 9.8; D. Chr. 31.121, ed. Arnim. Zur sozialen Stellung von Priestern allgemein s. Schörner 2003: 144 mit Anm. 1065.

61 Baumer 2001: 90. Vgl. hierzu, bezogen auf die Kosmetenporträts, Krumeich 2004: 147.

62 Ein ähnliches Phänomen hat Krumeich 2008b in Bezug auf die statuarische Repräsentation römischer Honoranden auf der Athener Akropolis aufgezeigt, die sowohl durch neu geschaffene Statuen als auch durch wiederverwendete Statuen klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit ausgezeichnet wurden, oft verbunden mit der „Intention, die hier geehrten Personen in engen Bezug zur athenischen Tradition und Geschichte zu stellen" (ebenda 42). Zu Klassizismen und Archaismen bei Votiven seit dem Späthellenismus s. Schörner 2003: 199–209; speziell zu Weihreliefs ebenda 202–204.

63 Baumer 1998; Vorster 1998; Baumer 2001. S. hierzu auch Anm. 48.

(Abb. 5–6)[64]. Es wurde nicht als billiges Baumaterial verwendet, sondern sorgfältig in die Front des Podiums eingesetzt, womit ihm eindeutig ein Schmuckcharakter zukommt. Ausschlaggebend für die Nutzung der Spolie waren aber sicher nicht nur ästhetische, sondern vor allem auch inhaltliche Gründe, kann das Relief mit seiner Darstellung einer Opferszene doch geradezu als bildlicher Kommentar und als Perpetuierung des realen Geschehens am Altar dienen. Im selben Bezirk wurde in der südlichen Umfassungsmauer aus dem 2. oder 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. auch ein Grabrelief des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. so verbaut, dass die Bildseite dem Inneren des heiligen Bezirks zugewandt war (Abb. 7)[65]. Auch in diesem Fall ging es offensichtlich nicht um Materialersparnis, sondern darum, das *temenos* angemessen auszustatten und semantisch aufzuladen. Dieses Stück wurde offenbar ebenfalls gezielt wegen seines Bildschmucks ausgesucht. Bezeichnenderweise handelt es sich bei der Spolie um ein ausgesprochen ungewöhnliches Sepulkraldenkmal, dessen Darstellung – eine Frau mit Kanne in der Rechten und erhobener linker Hand – auf den kaiserzeitlichen Betrachter wie eine Ritualszene gewirkt haben musste. Durch diese geschickte Inszenierung der beiden klassischen Reliefs konstruiert man für das Heiligtum eine materiell fassbare und visuell wahrnehmbare Geschichte[66]. Anscheinend diente dies dazu, die Kultstätte als vermeintlich traditionsreich aufzuwerten und ihr damit eine höhere Legitimation zu verleihen.

Das Hierophantenrelief ist also aus einem kulturellen Hintergrund heraus zu verstehen, in dem klassische und klassizistische Reliefs

64 Athen, Kerameikos, aus hymettischem Marmor, s. Brueckner 1909: 46 Abb. 21. 28; Knigge 1988: 120; van Straten 1995: 292 Kat. Nr. R 72. Auf dem Plan bei Brueckner 1909 (hier Abb. 5) ist das Podium mit Nr. 32 gekennzeichnet.

65 Kerameikos Museum Inv. P 1131 (H 1,77 m, B 0,99 m), aus pentelischem Marmor, gefunden 1890 bei der Hagia Triada. Zu diesem Relief s. Conze 1900: 172 Nr. 805 Taf. 152; Brueckner 1909: 43 Abb. 18; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1956: 29 mit Anm. 132; Neumann 1965: 181 Anm. 161; Knigge 1988: 129 Abb. 126; Kovacsovics 1990: 101; Clairmont 1993: 319–320 Nr. 1.334; Bergemann 1997: 89. 120 Anm. 19. 165 Kat. Nr. 273 Taf. 21, 3–4. Die Inschriften auf dem Relief sind nachträglich angebracht worden. Auf dem Plan bei Brueckner (hier Abb. 5) ist die Position des Reliefs mit Nr. 9 gekennzeichnet.

66 Darauf deuten auch eine Ehrenurkunde und eine Marmorplatte mit Weihinschrift, die in späthellenistischer Zeit in einem Heiligtum der Artemis Soteira aufgestellt waren und in dem Bezirk im Kerameikos wiederverwendet wurden. Beide wurden bei dem Podium Nr. 32 gefunden, die Marmorplatte war dort sicher verbaut, s. Brueckner 1909: 53–54 Nr. 2–3. Auch ein Fragment eines Ehrendekrets des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis, Kalliste und Ariste, soll der Aussage des Ausgräbers Mylonas zufolge in der Nähe des Podiums gefunden worden sein, s. Brueckner 1909: 55 Nr. 4.

bewusst verwendet wurden, um auf die große Vergangenheit Athens anzuspielen und damit für die jeweiligen Aufstellungsorte einen Bezug zu dieser Vergangenheit zu schaffen. Das Lakrateidesrelief hingegen ist eingebunden in eine lebendige Überlieferung an einem traditionellen Kultplatz. Der Stifter muss hier keine Vergangenheitsbezüge konstruieren, er muss sich vielmehr mit dieser Vergangenheit messen und stellt sich dieser Aufgabe mit einem imposanten Überbietungsgestus.

Durch die retrospektiven Züge der beiden Reliefs ergeben sich über die geschilderten allgemeinen Konnotationen hinaus jedoch noch weitere, spezifischere Aussagen. Es sind nicht nur die Votive als solche, die auf die Vergangenheit Bezug nehmen, es sind auch die Stifter selbst. Dadurch, dass sie sich auf ihren eigenen Votiven gemeinsam mit den Gottheiten darstellen lassen, knüpfen sie bildlich an eine Jahrhunderte zurückreichende Traditionslinie an, in die sie ihre Person und ihr Amt stellen.

Explizite Vergangenheitsbezüge wurden bei der Repräsentation von Priestern im sakralen Raum häufig gesucht; entsprechende Beispiele finden sich seit klassischer Zeit. Erinnert sei an dieser Stelle nur an den Pinax des Eteobutaden Habron aus dem späten 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr., auf dem die Poseidonpriester bis auf Butes, Erechtheus und Ge zurückgeführt werden[67]. Vor allem in späthellenistischer und dann besonders seit augusteischer Zeit galt εὐγένεια als entscheidendes Qualifikationskriterium für die Ausübung eines Priesteramtes in den öffentlichen Kulten[68]; die Verklammerung mit der Vergangenheit erfolgte über die eigene Abstammung. Bei den hier besprochenen Reliefs wird der Vergangenheitsbezug abstrakter formuliert. Er erfolgt nicht über die Familie, sondern wird bildlich artikuliert. Lakrateides zeigt dies allein schon durch die geschilderten retrospektiven Züge seines Porträts. Hinzu kommt bei ihm und bei dem Hierophanten der bereits erwähnte Umstand, dass beide Priester einen gemeinsamen Bildraum mit den geehrten Gottheiten nutzen. In der Bildsprache der klassischen Weihreliefs war dies geläufig, auf späthellenistischen und besonders auf kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs hingegen ausgesprochen selten. Lakrateides und der Hierophant lehnen sich auf ihren Votiven also an Adorantendarstellungen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. an, während ihre

67 Plut. *Moralia* 843e–f. Vgl. im späten 4. Jh. die hölzerne Statuengruppe der Eteobutaden im Erechtheion, Lykurgos mit seinen drei Söhnen Habron, Lykurgos und Lykophron; erweitert im 2. Jh. durch die Statue der Philtera, deren Inschrift auf ihre Ahnen Bezug nimmt: *IG* II² 3474. Hierzu Löhr 2000: 185–6. 147 Kat. Nr. 167. 163–165 und passim; von den Hoff 2008: 125–126. 138; in diesem Band Lambert 72 mit Anm. 21–22. Zu konstruierten Stammbäumen Clinton 2004; Krumeich 2008a.

68 Hierzu in diesem Band Lambert 90–92.

Zeitgenossen dies weitestgehend vermeiden[69]. Der Festlegung auf diese spezifische Gestaltung muss gerade deshalb eine bewusste Entscheidung vorangegangen sein.

4. Bildraum, Hierarchie und Status

Im späten Hellenismus und in der Kaiserzeit haben die Stifter von Weihreliefs die Gelegenheit, sich selbst auf ihren Votiven ins Bild zu setzen, nur noch selten genutzt. Dies steht in enger Beziehung mit der Art und Weise, wie man das Verhältnis von Gottheiten und Menschen sowie die Möglichkeit der gegenseitigen Bezugnahme konstruierte. Hier hatte sich seit der Klassik eine grundlegende Veränderung vollzogen. Wie Henk Versnel anhand der Analyse von Gebetstexten herausgearbeitet hat[70] und wie auch Günther Schörner durch die Untersuchung der Weihinschriften belegen konnte, verstand man sich zunehmend als dem Walten der Götter ausgeliefert[71]. Die Abhängigkeit des Menschen von der Gottheit und seine Unterwürfigkeit ihr gegenüber trat immer stärker in den Vordergrund. Dies fand unter anderem seinen Ausdruck darin, dass man sich als Diener oder Sklave der Gottheit bezeichnete. Gleichzeitig vollzog sich eine Abkehr vom *do ut des*-Prinzip. Gebete und Votive war nicht mehr Bitte um eine Gegengabe oder der Dank dafür, sondern der Versuch, überhaupt erst das Gehör der Gottheit zu gewinnen.

Es ist nur folgerichtig, dass vor diesem Hintergrund unter den späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Weihreliefs die sogenannten ‚emblematischen Reliefs' und die Darstellungen der Gottheiten ohne Adoranten bei weitem überwiegen. Die ‚Verehrungsreliefs' waren seit dem Hellenismus anachronistisch: nicht nur motivisch und typologisch, sondern vor allem dadurch, dass sie durch die Verbindung von Kultakteur und Kultempfänger in einem gemeinsamen Bildraum einen grundsätzlichen Anspruch auf eine zwar hierarchisch geprägte, aber prinzipiell dennoch mögliche Beziehung zwischen beiden Parteien visuell formulierten. Wenn ausgerechnet zwei Priester für ihre aufwendigen, qualitätvollen Weihungen diese Darstellungsform wählen, besteht hier möglicherweise ein wechselseitiges Verhältnis zwischen der rituellen Rolle der Stifter, ihres damit verbundenen sozialen Status und der Wahl dieser spezifischen Votive.

---

69 S. o. Anm. 13.

70 Versnel 1981.

71 Schörner 2003: 11–28. 187–198. S. auch van Straten 1993.

Bislang erklärte man dies damit, dass die Stifter als Priester eine Sonderstellung im Verhältnis zu den Gottheiten reklamierten und dies mit dem Votiv zum Ausdruck bringen wollten. Diese Sonderstellung artikuliere sich in einem Anspruch auf besondere Nähe zu den Gottheiten, weswegen „annähernd ebenbürtige Erscheinung und Vertrautheit … deutlich bildlich gefasst" seien[72].

Folgt man dieser Lesart und führt man den Gedanken weiter, dann würden die Stifter der Reliefs eine spezifische rituelle Kompetenz beanspruchen, die sie allein der Ausübung eines priesterlichen Amtes verdankten und die damit für ihre Zeitgenossen nicht ohne weiteres erreichbar gewesen wäre. Die Bilder würden sie in besonderer Weise auszeichnen, indem sie sie quasi als Mediatoren zwischen göttlicher und menschlicher Welt charakterisierten, letzterer schon fast entrückt. Für das Selbstverständnis religiöser Spezialisten im hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Attika wäre dies, selbst bei einer so kleinen Zahl von Belegen, ein wichtiges Ergebnis. Es stellt sich allerdings die Frage, inwieweit die Entscheidung eines Priesters, ein Votiv in dieser spezifischen Form aufzustellen, tatsächlich einen solchen außergewöhnlichen Status zum Ausdruck bringen soll.

Durch ihre Darstellung im gleichen Bildraum wie die Gottheiten heben Lakrateides und der Hierophant hervor, dass sie mit diesen rituell in Kontakt getreten sind. Damit gehen sie, wie die Seltenheit dieses Bildschemas zeigt, über die üblichen Repräsentationsformen der Stifter im Rahmen der religiösen Kommunikation hinaus. Dies gilt vor allem für das in seinem zeitgenössischen Kontext bislang singuläre Hierophantenrelief, während es für das Votiv des Lakrateides einige wenige, im Einzelfall allerdings jeweils ganz anders gelagerte Vergleiche aus seiner Entstehungszeit gibt[73]. Wenn die besprochenen Votive außerdem auch noch Ebenbürtigkeit, Vertrautheit und Nähe zwischen Gottheiten und Inhabern von Kultämtern artikulieren sollten, dann müsste dies seinen Ausdruck allerdings nicht nur in der Wahl des Bildschemas, sondern auch in der Bildsprache finden; also in der Art, wie dieser Kontakt geschildert wird. Bereits die Weihreliefs klassischer Zeit hatten ein differenziertes Instrumentarium entwickelt, um die Beziehung zwischen göttlicher und menschlicher Ebene graduell abgestimmt zu charakterisieren[74]. Die hier zur Diskussion stehenden Votive greifen auf dieses Instrumentarium durchaus zurück. Sie verwenden es

72 So Schörner 2003: 191 zum Lakrateides- und Hierophantenrelief. Ähnlich von den Hoff 2008: 140, „Lacrateides claims a powerful and exceptional individual role as being near to the gods".

73 S. o. Anm. 13.

74 Hierzu z. B. Klöckner 2001.

aber gerade nicht, um eine besondere Nähe zwischen beiden Ebenen zu verbildlichen, sondern, ganz im Gegenteil, um deren kategorialen Abstand deutlich zu machen.

Beginnen wir mit dem Lakrateidesrelief, dessen beträchtlicher repräsentativer Anspruch allein schon aufgrund der gewaltigen Maße der Weihung unverkennbar ist. Der Stifter wird hier nicht nur gemeinsam mit Theos, Thea und Eubuleus, deren ἱερεύς er ist, sowie mit anderen Gottheiten in einem Bildfeld dargestellt. Er ist auch, anders als dies den Bildkonventionen klassischer Weihreliefs mit ihrer klar ausgeprägten Bedeutungsgröße entspricht, genauso groß wie diese. Dennoch wird er in diesem Kreis keinesfalls als ebenbürtig charakterisiert. Er bildet vielmehr, im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes, eine reine Hintergrundfigur. Wie bereits Rudolf Heberdey festgestellt hat, ist die Figur des Stifters im Unterschied zu den ihn umgebenden Gottheiten in deutlich flacherem Relief gearbeitet und nicht vom Reliefgrund gelöst[75]. Die differierende Relieftiefe ist optisch gut wahrnehmbar und trägt wesentlich zum Eindruck der Szenerie bei. Misst man nach, ist das Ergebnis ganz eindeutig: der Kopf des Lakrateides hebt sich an keiner Stelle mehr als 5 cm aus dem Reliefgrund heraus. Ansonsten sind die erhabenen Partien des Bildfeldes nirgendwo flacher als 10 cm, besitzen also mindestens die doppelte Relieftiefe.

Weitere, bislang noch nicht diskutierte Aspekte kommen hinzu. So wird die nachgeordnete Rolle des Lakrateides im Vergleich zu den Gottheiten auch daran deutlich, dass ehemals große Teile seines Körpers von dem thronenden Theos verdeckt gewesen sein müssen. Außerdem wird er in scharfem Profil wiedergegeben, während die Gottheiten, soweit am Erhaltenen ablesbar, entweder frontal nach vorn blicken oder, sofern sie auf das zentrale Geschehen der Ährenübergabe schauen, den Kopf unterschiedlich stark aus dem Reliefgrund herauswenden. In diesen Kreis ist Lakrateides nicht eingebunden. Keine der Gottheiten nimmt Bezug auf ihn, niemand sieht ihn an. Er hingegen ist voll und ganz auf die Gruppe der Gottheiten orientiert, was den Unterschied zwischen göttlicher Autonomie und menschlicher Abhängigkeit klar vor Augen führt. Schließlich sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass Lakrateides mit seiner Rechten keinen Adorationsgestus vollzieht, sondern die vor die Brust gehobene Hand in sein Gewand eingeschlagen hat[76]. Hierbei handelt es sich um ein sehr aussagekräftiges Detail. Männliche Adoranten, die mit ihrem rechten Arm nicht wie üblich frei agieren, sondern ihn mit ihrem Himation verhüllen,

75 Heberdey 1898: 112.

76 Gut zu erkennen bei Papangele 2002: Abb. 253.

kommen bereits auf einigen klassischen Weihreliefs vor. Damit soll anscheinend ein besonders ehrfürchtiges Verhalten bei der Begegnung mit der verehrten Gottheit angezeigt werden. Als Vergleich anführen lassen sich zum Beispiel ein um 400 v. Chr. gefertigtes Weihrelief aus dem Piräus[77] oder ein Votiv des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus dem Asklepieion von Athen[78]. All diese Punkte zusammen zeigen deutlich, dass sich der ἱερεύς nicht nur räumlich, sondern auch hierarchisch und semantisch in einer anderen Ebene befindet als die Gottheiten.

Hierfür finden sich unter den wenigen anderen späthellenistischen ‚Verehrungsreliefs' durchaus Parallelen[79]. Auch auf einem ungefähr zeitgleichen Relief mit Pan, Apollon, Hermes und den Nymphen sind die Stifterfiguren, in diesem Fall ein Gruppe von sechs am rechten Bildrand dicht gedrängt stehenden Epheben, zum Teil in deutlich flacherem Relief wiedergegeben als die Gottheiten, auch hier richten die Adoranten ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die Gottheiten, ohne von ihnen eine Reaktion zu erfahren[80]. In dieser Hinsicht ähnlich sind auch außerattische Votive wie eine Weihung aus Gythion, auf dem eine Adorantin neben Demeter, Kore und Pluto zu sehen ist. Die drei Gottheiten und die junge Frau sind nebeneinander dargestellt, nehmen aber keinen Bezug aufeinander[81]. Ein Votiv aus dem Piräus zeigt zwar, wie sich die Dioskuren einem winzigen, nackten Schiffbrüchigen zuwenden, betont aber gleichzeitig die krasse Ungleichheit beider Parteien[82]. Weitere Beispiele für eine Trennung von göttlicher und menschlicher Ebene mit unterschiedlichen bildlichen Mitteln ließen sich anführen[83].

---

77 Athen, NM 1501, s. Kaltsas 2002: 136 Kat. Nr. 261 m. Abb.; Comella 2002: 219 Kat. Nr. Pireo 11 Abb. 67.

78 Athen, NM 2498, s. Svoronos 1908–1937: 645 Nr. 380 Taf. 155, 12. Svoronos benennt den Adoranten irrtümlich als Frau.

79 Die Beispiele sind zusammengestellt in Anm. 13.

80 Athen, NM 1966, s. Schörner 2003: 557 Kat. R 30 Taf. 3, 1.

81 Athen, NM 1453, s. Schörner 2003: 396 Kat. 656. 562 Kat. R 46 Taf. 7, 2.

82 Athen, NM 1409, s. Schörner 2003: 568–569 Kat. R 66 Taf. 39, 1

83 Auf einem Weihrelief aus Larissa an die Dioskuren (Paris, Louvre MA 746, s. Schörner 2003: 529 Kat. 1167. 566 Kat. R 58 Taf. 2) bereitet ein Adorantenpaar ein Klinenmahl für die Dioskuren, die durch die Lüfte heranreiten. Hier teilen sich Menschen und Gottheiten zwar den gleichen Bildraum, verbleiben aber gleichzeitig jeweils in ihrer spezifischen Sphäre. Gleiches gilt für ein Votiv für Artemis, Apollon und Bendis aus Phtelea in Volos, MA Inv. 4068, s. Schörner 2003: 568 Kat. R 65. Signifikant ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Entwicklung der argivischen Eumenidenreliefs (Athen, NM 3245, s. Schörner 2003: 339 Kat. 434. 549 Kat. R 2 Taf. 6, 1; Athen, NM 3247, s. Schörner 2003: 339 Kat. 435. 549 Kat. R 3 Taf. 6, 2). Bis in den Hellenismus hinein werden hier die klassischen Bildschemata tradiert, Menschen und Gottheiten also in direktem Gegenüber gezeigt. Am Ende der Reihe löst man

Das Lakrateidesrelief setzt sich von diesen Weihungen zwar durch sein Format, seine Qualität, seine Figurenfülle und seinen Detailreichtum deutlich ab, entspricht ihnen aber in der Art, wie das Verhältnis von Gottheiten und Stifter grundsätzlich formuliert wird. Eine Sonderstellung nimmt dieser Stifter vor allem durch den Aufwand seines Votivs und seinen darin ausgedrückten sozialen Status ein, nicht aber durch eine, seinem Priestertum geschuldete, exklusive Beziehung zu den Gottheiten.

Anders als das Votiv des Lakrateides zeigt das Hierophantenrelief den Stifter und die geehrten Göttinnen in einem wirklichen Gegenüber. Das Bild konstruiert nicht nur ein Nebeneinander der Figuren, sondern eine Begegnung der Protagonisten, wie sie auch auf klassischen Weihreliefs häufig gezeigt wurde. Die Art und Weise, wie diese Begegnung mit visuellen Mitteln charakterisiert wird, besitzt für das jeweilige Götter- und Menschenbild große Aussagekraft. Im Falle des Hierophantenreliefs werden beide Bereiche allein schon durch eine jeweils andere stilistische Formgebung voneinander abgesetzt. Während die Figuren der beiden Eleusinierinnen klar an klassischen Vorbildern orientiert sind[84], verrät die des Stifters wesentlich stärker den Einfluss des Zeitstils. Weitere Aspekte kommen hinzu. Im Unterschied zu der Figur des Lakrateides besitzt die des Hierophanten die gleiche Reliefiefe wie die Göttinnen. Dafür ist er allerdings kleiner als diese dargestellt, was den Konventionen der Bedeutungsgröße entspricht und eine Rangabstufung zwischen den beiden Parteien zum Ausdruck bringt[85]. Der Größenunterschied ist zwar nicht beträchtlich, aber doch signifikant. Dies zeigt sich nicht nur an den realen Abmessungen, sondern wird auch bildlich dadurch verdeutlicht, dass Kore den Kopf senken muss, um den Hierophanten anblicken zu können. Ein ähnliches Größenverhältnis zwischen Adorant und Gottheit ist auch auf einigen klassischen Weihreliefs zu finden, auf den meisten Beispielen sind die Menschen allerdings noch kleiner[86]. Letzteres gilt auch für die wenigen anderen kaiserzeitlichen Beispiele, die ebenfalls den Typus der ‚Verehrungsreliefs' aufgreifen. Wie bereits erwähnt, sind aus Attika keine

---

dies dann auf und stellt Menschen und Gottheiten in verschiedenen Registern dar. Hierzu s. Schörner 2003: 34.

84 Schörner 2003: 46–47 mit Anm. 321; Böhm 2004: 108–110.

85 So schon Schörner 2003: 191.

86 Für im Verhältnis zu den Gottheiten große Adoranten vgl. z. B. Rom, Museo Barracco 1116 (Comella 2002: 213 Kat. Nr. Ikaria 13 Abb. 131); Brauron, AM 1171 / 77 (Comella 2002: 206 Kat. Nr. Brauron 5 Abb. 57).

gesicherten Parallelen überliefert[87]. In Komposition und Erzählweise mit dem Hierophantenrelief vergleichbar sind allenfalls zwei klassizistische Reliefs ohne bekannten Fundort aus der frühen Kaiserzeit. Sehr deutlich ausgeprägt ist die Bedeutungsgröße auf einem Relief in Malibu, das einen Adoranten vor Demeter, Kore und einer männlichen Gottheit, wohl Triptolemos, zeigt (Abb. 8)[88]. Der Adorant ist hier wesentlich kleiner und schmaler als die drei Gottheiten wiedergegeben. Zwar sind nur noch die Unterschenkel und die untere Hälfte der Oberschenkel erhalten, aber dies reicht aus, um die Proportionen einschätzen zu können. Die Knie des Adoranten reichen gerade bis zum Gewandsaum des Triptolemos. Sein Kopf wird ungefähr auf der mittleren Höhe der Platte geendet haben, während Kore das ganze Bildfeld bis zur oberen Rahmung ausfüllt. Der Stifter bildet also geradezu eine Randfigur auf diesem Relief. Dieser Eindruck wird durch ein weiteres Detail noch verstärkt. Die untere Rahmung der Marmorplatte weist zwischen den Figuren des Triptolemos und des Stifters einen deutlichen Knick auf. Unter den Gottheiten ist sie ein gutes Stück höher als unter dem Adoranten. Damit befinden sich beide Parteien auf unterschiedlichem Niveau, was wiederum nicht nur räumlich zu verstehen ist[89]. Auch auf einem frühkaiserzeitlichen Relief aus der Sammlung Grimani[90] ist die Trennung zwischen beiden Ebenen wesentlich deutlicher als auf dem Hierophantenrelief, der hierarchische Abstand zwischen Menschen und Gottheiten wird hier viel stärker betont. Angesichts der insgesamt sehr geringen Zahl der Beispiele sollte man diese Unterschiede jedoch nicht überbewerten.

Die Stifter der besprochenen Reliefs haben sich also für Weihegaben entschieden, die innerhalb des Votivspektrums ihrer Zeit eine Sonderstellung einnehmen. Ein Motiv hierfür mag der Wunsch gewesen sein, der besonderen rituellen Funktion ihres Amtes und der damit verbundenen Beziehung zum Kultempfänger Ausdruck zu verleihen. Eine Sonderstellung der Kultakteure im Verhältnis zu den Kultempfängern im Sinne einer besonderen Nähe oder gar Ebenbürtigkeit zwischen beiden wird damit jedoch nicht postuliert. Im Gegenteil, die Bilder wollen die Kluft zwischen Gottheit und Mensch nicht über-

87 Hierzu s. o. Anm. 13. Ein aus dem Piräus stammendes Votiv aus dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. zeigt zwar ebenfalls Gottheit und Mensch in einem Bildraum, bringt aber im Vergleich mit dem Hierophantenrelief ein diametral anderes Verhältnis zwischen beiden zum Ausdruck: Nemesis steht hier auf einem zu ihren Füßen liegenden nackten Mann (Schörner 2003: 323 Kat. 77. 569 Kat. 67 Taf. 8).

88 S. o. Anm. 7 und 13.

89 Vgl. Böhm 2004: 53 Anm. 194. S. hierzu a. Söldner 1993, bes. 293 mit Anm. 261.

90 S. o. Anm. 13.

spielen, sondern formulieren sie sehr deutlich. Bildlich wird die Trennlinie zwischen menschlichem und göttlichem Bereich jeweils klar herausgearbeitet. Jedes Bild tut dies auf seine eigene Weise; eine verbindliche Ikonographie für Reliefs dieser Art gibt es im Späthellenismus und in der Kaiserzeit nicht mehr. Einen entscheidenden Punkt heben beide Bilder aber deutlich hervor: auch für religiöse Spezialisten ist der Abstand zwischen göttlicher und menschlicher Ebene nicht überwindbar.

Wenn Lakrateides und der Hierophant aus Hagnus, in bewusster Bezugnahme auf klassische Vorbilder, sich selbst auf ihren Votiven gemeinsam mit den verehrten Gottheiten darstellen lassen, dann ist ausschlaggebend für die Wahl dieses Bildschemas wohl vor allem das Bestreben, durch die Verwendung einer anachronistischen Form- und Bildsprache an die als vorbildhaft geltende Vergangenheit anzuknüpfen beziehungsweise diese gar zu übertreffen. Die Verklammerung mit der Vergangenheit erfolgt hier nicht über Abstammung und Familie, sondern die Stifter stellen sich und ihr Amt mit rein visuellen Mitteln in eine ehrwürdige Traditionslinie bzw. konstruieren eine solche. Sie unterstreichen auf diese Weise weniger eine individuelle Qualität ihrer Beziehung zu den Gottheiten als vielmehr die Würde und die Bedeutung ihres Priestertums im Allgemeinen und ihrer Person im Speziellen. Anscheinend versprach gerade das Unzeitgemäße der besprochenen Reliefs den priesterlichen Stiftern eine im positiven Sinne zu verstehende Exklusivität und damit den gewünschten Distinktionsgewinn im symbolischen Diskurs.

5. Bibliographie

Angelicoussis, E. (1992). *The Woburn Abbey Collection of Classical Antiquities*. Mainz.

Balty, J. Ch. (1982). ‚Hiérophantes attiques d' époque imperial'. In: *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, hrsg. v. L. Hadermann-Misguich, G. Raepsaet, Brüssel, 263–272.

Baumer, L. E. (1998). ‚Klassische Bildwerke für tote Philosophen? Zu zwei spätklassischen Votivskulpturen aus Athen und ihrer Wiederverwendung in der späteren Kaiserzeit', *AK* 44: 55–69.

– (2001). ‚Praeterea typos tibi mando – Klassische Weihreliefs in römischem Kontext'. In: *Griechenland in der Kaiserzeit. Neue Funde und Forschungen zu Skulptur, Architektur und Topographie*. Kolloquium zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Prof. Dietrich Willers, hrsg. v. Chr. Reusser, Bern, 12.–13. Juni 1998, 4. Beih. *HASB*, 85–94.

Bergmann, M. (1977). *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr*. Bonn.

Bergemann, J. (1997). *Demos und Thanatos. Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten*. München.

Böhm, St. (1999). ‚Römisch-eklektische Weihreliefs nach griechischem Vorbild', *AK* 42: 26–40.

– (2004). *Klassizistische Weihreliefs. Zur römischen Rezeption griechischer Votivbilder*. Wiesbaden.

Brueckner, A. (1909). *Der Friedhof am Eridanos bei der Hagia Triada zu Athen.* Berlin.

Clairmont, Chr. W. (1993). *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Vol. 1, Catalogue. Kilchberg.

Clinton, K. (1974). *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, *TAPhS* N.S. 64.

– (1992). *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries.* Stockholm.

– (2004). ‚A family of Eumolpidai and Kerykes descended from Pericles. ', *Hesperia* 73: 39–57.

Comella, A. (2002). *I rilievi votivi greci di periodo arcaico e classico. Diffusione, ideologia, committenza*. Bari.

Connelly, J. B. (2007). *Portrait of a priestess. Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*. Woodstock.

Conze, A. (1900). *Die attischen Grabreliefs*. Berlin.

d' Ambra, E. (2005). ‚Kosmetai, the Second Sophistic, and portraiture in the second century'. In: *Periklean Athens and its Legacy. Problems and Perspectives*, hrsg. v. J. M. Barringer, J. M. Hurwit, Austin, 201–216.
Daux, G. (1960). ‚Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1959', *BCH* 84: 617–868, bes. 637.

Follet, S. (1976). *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle. Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*. Paris.
Forsén, B. (1996). *Griechische Gliederweihungen : eine Untersuchung zu ihrer Typologie und ihrer religions- und sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*. Helsinki.
Frel, J. (1979). *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum. A Checklist. Sculpture I. Greek Originals*. Malibu.
– (1980). *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum. A Checklist. Sculpture II. Greek Portraits and Varia*. Malibu.
Froning, H. (1981). *Marmor-Schmuckreliefs mit griechischen Mythen im 1. Jh. v. Chr.* Mainz.

Galli, M. (2001). ‚*Pepaideumenoi* am ›Ort des Heiligen‹: Euergetische Initiativen und Kommunikationsformen in griechischen Heiligtümern zur Zeit der Zweiten Sophistik'. In: *Griechenland in der Kaiserzeit. Neue Funde und Forschungen zu Skulptur, Architektur und Topographie*. Kolloquium zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Prof. Dietrich Willers, hrsg. v. Chr. Reusser, Bern, 12.–13. Juni 1998, 4. Beih. *HASB*, 43–70.
– (2002). *Die Lebenswelt eines Sophisten: Untersuchungen zu den Bauten und Stiftungen des Herodes Atticus*. Mainz.
Geominy, W. (1989). ‚Eleusinische Priester'. In: *Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann*, hrsg. v. H.-U. Cain, H. Gabelmann, D. Salzmann, Mainz, 253–264.
Geyer, A. (1977). *Das Problem des Realitätsbezuges in der dionysischen Bildkunst der Kaiserzeit*. Würzburg.
Goette, H. R. (2000). *Ο αξιόλογος δήμος Σούνιον. Landeskundliche Studien in Südost-Attika*. Rahden.
– (2011, im Druck). ‚Klassisches Original oder klassizistische Tradition in der Kaiserzeit? Zum Relief Athen, Nationalmuseum Inv. 226 aus Mantineia'. In: *Classical Tradition and Innovative Elements in the Sculpture in Roman Greece*, Proceedings of the Conference, Thessaloniki, 7–9 May 2009, hrsg. v. Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, P. Karanastasi, D. Damaskos, Thessaloniki.

Harrison, E. B. (1965). *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*. Agora 11. Princeton.

Heberdey, R. (1898). ‚Das Weihrelief des Lakrateides aus Eleusis'. In: *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf zu seinem 60 Geburtstage: gewidmet von Schülern, Freunden und Fachgenossen*. Wien, 111–116.

Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N. (1956). *Studien zum Ilissos-Relief*. München.

Kaltsas, N. (2002). *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Catalogue*. Athen.

Klöckner, A. (2001). ‚Menschlicher Gott und göttlicher Mensch? Zu einigen Weihreliefs für Asklepios und die Nymphen'. In: *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit. Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr*, hrsg. v. R. von den Hoff, S. Schmidt, Stuttgart, 121–136.

Knigge, U. (1988). *Der Kerameikos von Athen. Führung durch Ausgrabungen und Geschichte*. Athen.

Kovacsovics, W. K. (1990). *Die Eckterrasse an der Gräberstraße des Kerameikos*. Berlin.

Kron, U. (1996). ‚Priesthoods, dedications and euergetism. What part did religion play in the political and social status of Greek women?'. In: *Religion and power in the ancient Greek world*. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993, hrsg. v. P. Hellström, B. Alroth, Stockholm, 139–182.

Krumeich, R. (2004). ‚Klassiker im Gymnasion. Bildnisse attischer Kosmeten der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit'. In: *Paideia. The world of the Second Sophistic*, hrsg. v. B. E. Borg, Berlin, 131–155.

– (2008a). ‚Vergegenwärtigung einer ‚großen' Vergangenheit. Zitate älterer Bildnisse und retrospektive Statuen berühmter Athener im Athen der römischen Kaiserzeit'. In: *Original und Kopie. Formen und Konzepte der Nachahmung in der antiken Kunst*. Akten des Kolloquiums in Berlin, 17.–19. Februar 2005 (2008), hrsg. v. K. Junker – A. Stähli, Wiesbaden, 159–175.

– (2008b). ‚Formen der statuarischen Repräsentation römischer Honoranden auf der Akropolis von Athen im späten Hellenismus und in der frühen Kaiserzeit'. In: *Η Αθήνα κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή εποχή πρόσφατες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες = Athens during the Roman period: recent discoveries, new evidence*, hrsg. v. S. Vlizos, Athen, 31–47.

Lindner, R. (2003). ‚Priesterinnen. Bildzeugnisse zum griechischen Götterkult'. In: *Geschlechterdifferenz, Ritual und Religion*, hrsg. v. E. Klinger, S. Böhm, T. Franz, Würzburg, 53–77.

Löhr, Chr. (2000). *Griechische Familienweihungen. Untersuchungen einer Repräsentationsform von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des 4. Jhs.* Rahden/Westfalen.

Mantis, A. (1990). *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερέων στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη.* Athen.
Merkelbach, R. (1988). *Die Hirten des Dionysos.* Stuttgart.
Micheli, M. E. (2002). ‚Il grande rilievo con la Triada Eleusina e la sua recezione in età romana', *ASAA* 80,1: 67–120.
Mylonas. G. E. (1961). *Eleusis and the Eleusinian mysteries.* Princeton.

Neumann, G. (1965). *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst.* Berlin.

Osborne, M. J., Byrne, S. G. (eds.). (1994). *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Bd. 2, Attica.* Oxford.

Palagia, O. (1997). Classical Encounters: Attic Sculpture after Sulla'. In: *The Romanization of Athens.* Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, hrsg. v. M. C. Hoff, S. I. Rotroff, Oxford, 81–95.
Papangele, K. (2002). *Ελευσίνα. Ο αρχαιολογικός χώρος και το μουσείο.* Athen.
Parker, R. (1983). *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in early Greek Religion.* Oxford.
Peschlow-Bindokat, A. (1972). ‚Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts.', *JDAI* 87: 60–157.
Raeder, J. (2000). *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House (West Sussex). Corpus signorum imperii Romani. Great Britain* vol. 3.9. Mainz.
Rumscheid, J. (2000). ‚Kranz und Krone. Zu Insignien, Siegespreisen und Ehrenzeichen in der römischen Kaiserzeit', *Istanbuler Forschungen* 43: 617–620.

Schneider, L. (1973). ‚Das grosse Eleusinische Relief und seine Kopien'. In: *Antike Plastik,* Bd. 12, hrsg. v. F. Eckstein (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), Berlin, 103–123.
Schörner, G. (2003). *Votive im römischen Griechenland: Untersuchungen zur späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte.* Stuttgart.
Söldner, M. (1993). ‚Statuenbasen? Die flachen Basen. Motivgeschichte und Problematik eines Bildelements in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei', *JDAI* 108: 255–320.

Stewart, A. (1979). *Attika. Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*. London.
Stiglitz, R. (1953). ‚Alexandra von Amyklai', *JŒAI* 40: 72–83.
Svoronos, J. N. (1908–1937). *Das Athener Nationalmuseum III*. Athen.

Traill, J. S. (1975). *The political organization of Attica. A Study of the demes, trittyes, and phylai, and their representation in the Athenian Council* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 14). Princeton.
Traversari, G. (1973). *Sculture del V – IV secolo a.C. del museo Archeologico di Venezia*. Venedig.
Travlos, J. (1971). *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen*. Tübingen.

Vanderpool, E. (1960). ‚News Letter from Greece', *AJA* 64: 265–271.
van Straten, F. T. (1993). ‚Images of gods and men in a changing society. Self-identity in hellenistic religion'. In: *Images and ideologies. Self-definition in the hellenistic world*. Conference held at Berkeley, April 7-9, 1988, hrsg. v. A. Bulloch, E. S. Gruen, A. A. Long, Berkeley, 248-264.
– (1995). *Hierà Kalá: images of animal sacrifice in archaic and classical Greece*. Leiden.
Versnel, H. S. (1981). ‚Religious mentality in ancient prayer'. In: *Faith, hope and worship.* Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2, hrsg. v. H. S. Versnel, Leiden, 1–64.
Vikela, E. (1997). ‚Attische Weihreliefs und die Kult-Topographie Attikas', *MDAI(A)* 112: 167–246.
von den Hoff, R. (2008). ‚Images and Prestige of Cult Personnel in Athens between the Sixth and First Centuries BC'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and religious Officials from Homer to Heliodoros*, hrsg. v. B. Dignas – K. Trampedach, Washington, DC/Cambridge, Mass., 107–141.
Vorster, C. (1998). ‚Hellenistische Skulpturen in Rom. Zur Pflege ‚antiker' Statuen in der Kaiserzeit'. In: *Horti Romani*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma, 4–6 maggio 1995, *BCAR* Suppl. 6, hrsg. v. M. Cima, E. La Rocca, Rom, 275–294.

Zanker, P. (1995). *Die Maske des Sokrates. Das Bild des Intellektuellen in der antiken Kunst*. München.

Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Relief Eleusis, Museum Inv. 5079 (Photo D-DAI-ATH-Eleusis 106)
Abb. 2: Relief Eleusis, Museum Inv. 5079, Detail (nach Papangele 2002: Farbabb. auf S. 253)
Abb. 3: Relief Athen, 3. Ephorie, Magazin der Attalosstoa (Photo D-DAI-ATH-1989-0648, Bildautor Hans Rupprecht Goette)
Abb. 4: Relief Athen, 3. Ephorie, Magazin der Attalosstoa, Detail (Photo D-DAI-ATH-1989-0649, Bildautor Hans Rupprecht Goette)
Abb. 5: Plan des Hekate-Heiligtums im Kerameikos von Athen (nach dem Faltplan in Brueckner 1909)
Abb. 6: Podium mit eingemauertem Weihrelief im Hekate-Heiligtum im Kerameikos von Athen (nach Brueckner 1909: Abb. 21)
Abb. 7: Grabrelief einer Hydrophore, Kerameikos Museum Inv. P 1131 (Photo D-DAI-ATH-Grabrelief 335)
Abb. 8: Relief Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Inv. 73.AA.124 (Photo Getty Museum, Bildautorin Ellen Rosenbery).

Abb.1
Lakrateidesrelief. Eleusis, Museum

Abb 2
Detail des Reliefs Abb. 1

Abb. 3
Relief eines Hierophanten. Athen, Dritte Ephorie

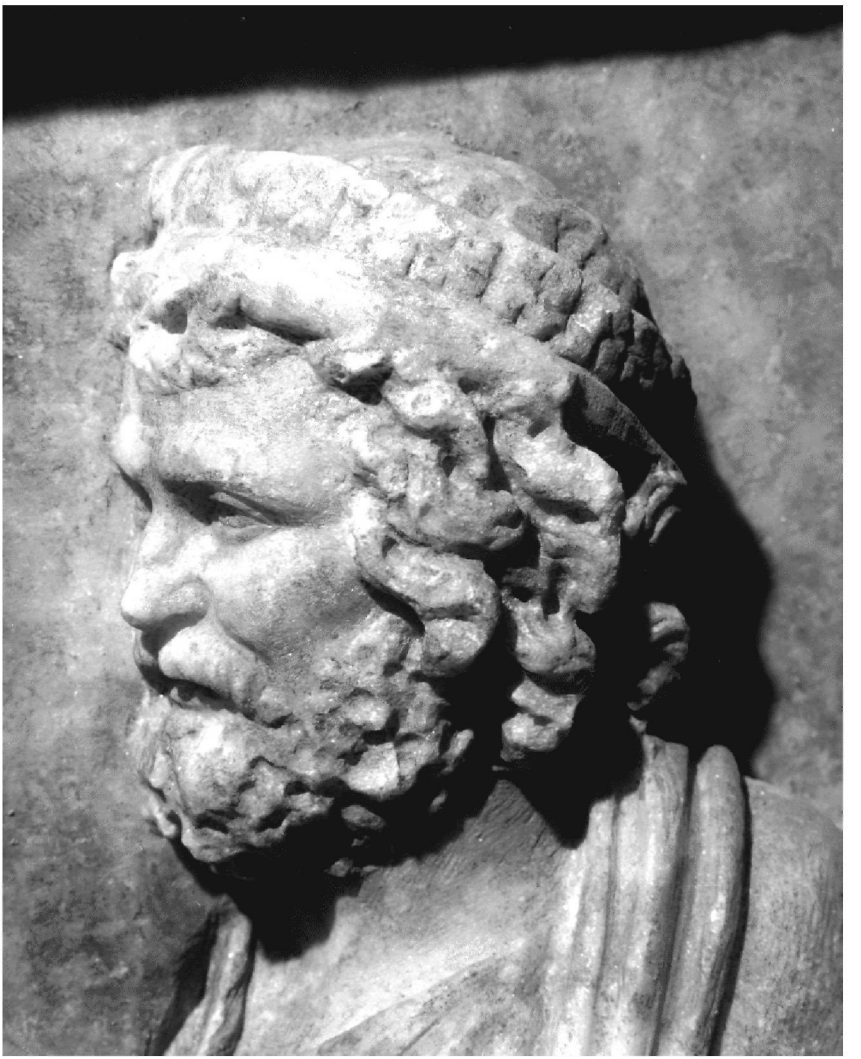

Abb. 4
Detail des Reliefs Abb. 3

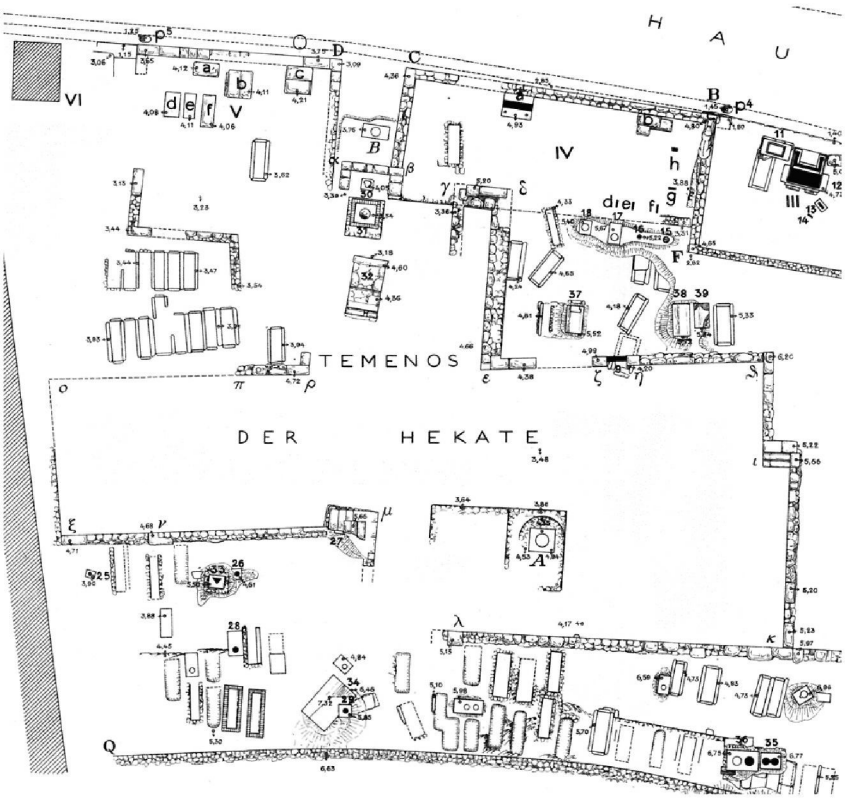

Abb. 5
Plan des Hekate-Heiligtums im Athener Kerameikos

Abb. 6
Podium mit eingesetztem Weihrelief aus dem
Hekate-Heiligtum im Athener Kerameikos

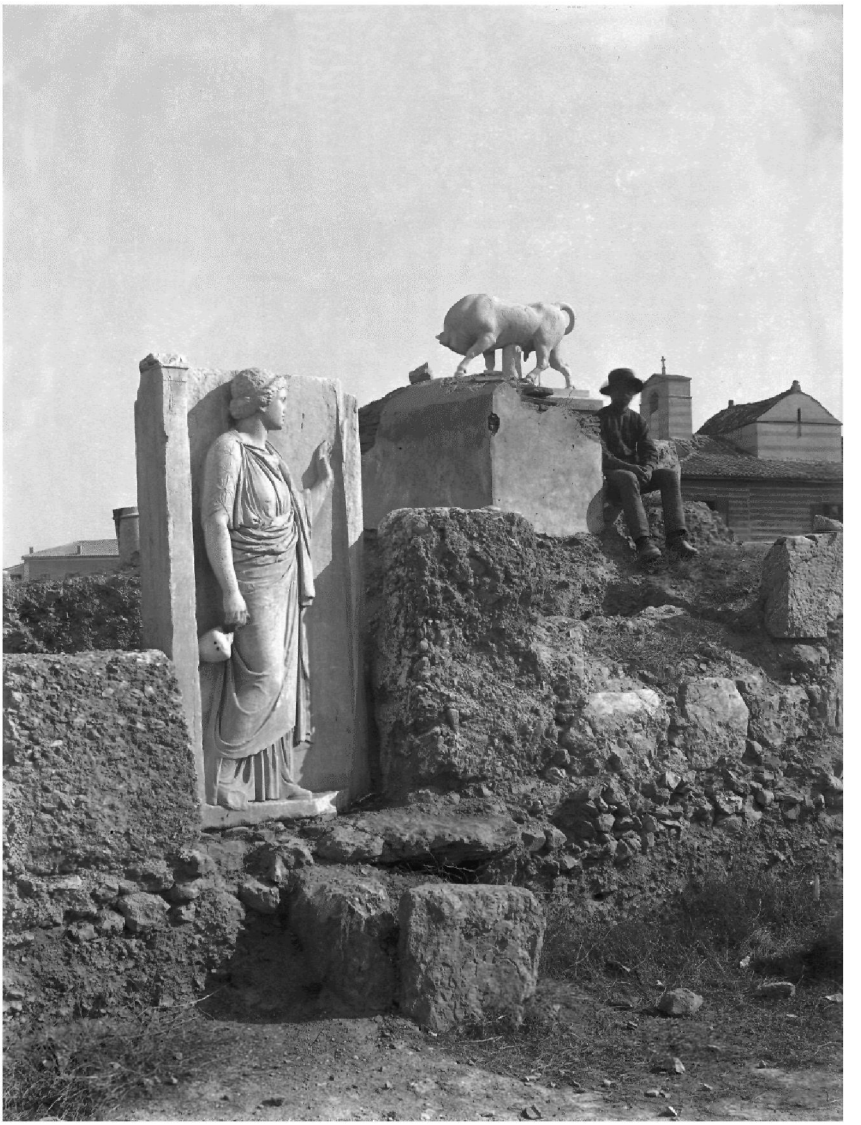

Abb. 7
Temenosmauer des Hekate-Heiligtums im Athener Kerameikos
mit eingesetztem Relief einer Hydriaphore

Abb. 8
Relief mit Demeter, Kore, Triptolemos (?) und einem Adoranten.
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum

The social construction of priests and priestesses in Athenian honorific decrees from the fourth century BC to the Augustan period[1]

STEPHEN D. LAMBERT

Abstract: This paper explores the social construction, or image, of priests and priestesses presented in inscribed decrees of the city of Athens honouring them from the fourth century BC to the Augustan period. Based on an analysis of the 28 surviving decrees of this type, texts and translations of which are presented in an Appendix, the paper seeks to address three main questions: (a) What is the image of a good priest or priestess presented in these decrees and what similarities and differences are there as compared with other types of official? (b) To what extent and in what ways is a priestess constructed differently from a priest? (c) What changes are there over time in the way priests and priestesses, their qualities and services, are described, and how should we explain those changes?

1. Introduction

What was the role of the priest and the priestess in ancient Greek society? There are many perspectives from which the question may be approached,[2] but any satisfactory answer must comprehend the Athenian case: our evidence for Athens is by a wide margin more

1 In addition to the symposium in Berlin, versions of this paper were delivered in 2010 at the Ancient History Seminar of the Institute for Classical Studies, London, and at the annual conference of the Classical Association in Cardiff. I am grateful to Jan Bremmer as respondent in Berlin, and to other members of the audiences in all three places, for their contributions, which have been immensely helpful in clarifying a number of points; to Josine Blok for reading an early draft of the oral paper and to her and Peter Rhodes for reading the final draft of the written version. Dates are BC unless stated otherwise. This is one of a connected series of papers on the Attic *gene* and Athenian priesthoods, which includes: Blok-Lambert 2009; Lambert 2010a; Aleshire-Lambert 2011; Lambert forthcoming.

2 For two recent discussions see Henrichs 2008 and Chaniotis 2008. In this paper I adopt the usual convention of translating ἱερεύς and ἱέρεια as 'priest' and 'priestess', though, as Henrichs points out, the terms are not precisely equivalent.

abundant and richer in variety of source, and extends continuously over a longer time period than any other city;[3] and it must, in the Athenian case and elsewhere, comprehend what is arguably the single most important category of evidence – again more abundant over a longer time span in Athens than elsewhere – inscriptions. A potentially very fruitful epigraphical perspective on the role of the priest at Athens, not systematically exploited hitherto,[4] is that presented by the corpus of decrees honouring priests and priestesses. In the 340s BC the Athenian Council and People started regularly inscribing decrees honouring Athenian officials: councillors, secretaries, holders of offices such as the superintendent of the water supply, and priests.[5] In this paper I shall explore the social construction of priests and priestesses in such decrees, from the earliest extant example in the 330s, until the beginning of the Christian era.

Inscribed decrees supply a uniquely valuable insight into the collective Athenian mind. They are the result of proposals made by individual citizens in the Council or Assembly, but those proposals were agreed by the majority of Athenians present and voting at the relevant meeting. Moreover they were not, like most decrees, simply to be lodged in papyrus copy in the state archive in the Agora; their significance was enhanced by transmutation into permanent monumental form and placement (usually) in a religious sanctuary or other religious space. It can be helpful to conceptualise inscribed decrees, like the dedications placed in sanctuaries with which they have much common, as having two faces: one directed at men, one at the gods.[6] The image, or construct, of a priest or priestess projected in these decrees is that of

---

3 It is, in fact, in this respect as in many others, the only city for which there is enough evidence to support a joined-up story from the classical period through to the Roman. That is not to say, of course, that we can or should generalise from the Athenian case.

4 Connelly 2007: 203–205 presents a brief overview of the award of honorific decrees to priestesses, in Athens and elsewhere. For a fuller treatment than that offered below of the decrees honouring priests in Athens and Delos in the period 167–88 see Eric Perrin's paper in this volume.

5 For an annotated catalogue of decrees honouring Athenians to 321 see Lambert 2004. I discuss the reasons why they were passed and inscribed at Lambert 2011. Much more unusual were decrees awarding leading politicians and generals the so-called *megistai timai*, typically including a statue and *sitesis* in the *prytaneion*. We know that awards of these highest honours were made in the classical period (Lambert 2004: 86), but the earliest extant inscribed example is that honouring the orator Lykourgos in 307/6, *IG* II² 457+513, of which the text is also preserved at [Plut.] *X Orat.* 852a–e (see most recently Luraghi 2010).

6 On the "two faces" of dedications see Keesling 2003: 199; applied to decree inscriptions, Lambert 2011.

a good, praiseworthy, priest or priestess as seen through the collective eyes of the citizens – the male citizens, that is – of Athens, and, as those citizens themselves conceived of it, in the eyes of the gods.

I propose to address three main questions:

(1) what image of a priest and priestess is presented in these decrees, and in particular what similarities and differences are there in relation to other types of officials? Here I shall be looking mainly at synchronic issues.

(2) how is gender constructed? Priestesses are the only Athenian women honoured in inscribed decrees. To what extent is what they are and what they do in these decrees presented differently because of their gender? Here we must bear in mind that the citizens passing these decrees were an exclusively male body, and it is therefore a masculine construction that we shall be considering.

(3) what changes are there over time in the way priests and priestesses, their qualities and services, are described in inscribed decrees, and how should we explain those changes?

The study is based on a corpus, presented in an Appendix to the paper, of the 28 decrees of the Athenian Council and People honouring priests and priestesses before the Christian era known to me, including texts and translations.

2. *Genos* priests and "democratic" priests

First, there is an important distinction to be made; arguably the more important because, with the exception of the last decree in our series, it is almost invisible on the surface of the texts. We have to do in these decrees with two types of polis priest.[7] So far as we know, before the Roman period all Athenian polis priests were appointed by lot – the "divine" lot as Plato calls it;[8] but they differed in the groups from which they were appointed:

(a) tenants of older priesthoods, appointed from the descent-groups known as *gene*, who usually held office for life;[9]

---

7 On the definition of "polis priest" and the different types see Lambert 2010a.

8 *Laws* 6.759b, cf. 690c, 5.741b; Lambert 2010a: 155; cf. [Dem.] 57.46–48.

9 On the *genos* priesthoods see Blok-Lambert 2009. Life tenure was the norm, clear e.g. from the provisions relating to appointment of new priests and priestesses in the *genos* Salaminioi (Rhodes-Osborne 2007 no. 37, 8–16, 363/2), from the famous Eteoboutad priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimache, who was priestess for 64 years in the late-fifth and early-fourth centuries (*IG* II² 3453, Pliny, *HN* 34.76; Blok-Lambert 2009: 105 no. 1), and in the same period the long tenure of the dadouchy by the younger

(b) the so-called "democratic" priesthoods, all of which, so far as we know, postdate Pericles' Citizenship Law. They were usually appointed from all Athenians; in the case of Asklepios, and perhaps of other male priesthoods, from the Cleisthenic tribes in rotation; in the case of cults located outside the city perhaps from an Attic deme. At least the male priesthoods of this type were held for one year only.

Genos priests honoured in our decrees include the Eteoboutad priestess of Athena Polias on the acropolis, the most prestigious of all Athenian priesthoods (no. 10 and no. 11);[10] the priestess of Aglauros, probably appointed from the *genos* Salaminioi (no. 8, no. 15?, no. 16?),[11] and the dadouch of the Eleusinian Mysteries (no. 28), from the *genos* Kerykes.[12] "Democratic" priests are represented by the priest of Asklepios on the south-slope of the acropolis, best known male priest of this type and the most frequently honoured in our set (nos. 3, 4, 9, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27), the priest of Kalliste, a form of Artemis whose sanctuary was located near the Dipylon gate (no. 12, 14),[13] and the priests of Delos (no. 22).[14] Perhaps also "democratic" were the priest of Amphiaraos, the healing deity especially associated with the Amphiaraion in Oropos (no. 5)[15] and, in the Piraeus, the priest of Zeus Soter (nos. 1, 6, 7, 20).[16] We do not know what type of priesthood was held by

---

Kallias son of Hipponikos of Alopeke, Blok-Lambert 2009: 116 no. 2 (cf. Lambert forthcoming). However it was possible to resign a *genos* priesthood, as was done e.g. by Habron, second son of the orator Lykourgos and Eteoboutad priest of Poseidon Erechtheus in the late fourth century, perhaps because he wished to pursue a political career (Blok-Lambert 2009: 111 no. 3), and by tenants of priesthoods of the Eleusinian gene in the hellenistic period, who quite frequently progressed from one life-priesthood to another (e.g. from the altar-priesthood of the Kerykes to the dadouchy, Appendix no. 28).

10 Blok-Lambert 2009: 105–109.

11 In 363/2 this *genos* supplied the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos (Rhodes-Osborne 2007 no. 37). It seems that, by the hellenistic period, this had become divided into two separate priesthoods, but they were probably still supplied by the *genos*, which remained active in the mid-third century, as we know from *Agora* 19 L4b (cf. *SEG* 47.165). Cf. Lambert 1999: 114–15; Blok-Lambert 2009: 97 with note 17.

12 Blok-Lambert 2009: 116–19.

13 Lambert 2010a: 159–60. The gender of a priest normally corresponded to the gender of the deity he or she served, but Artemis and her cognates was one of those deities who could be served by both male and female priests, cf. Lambert 2010a: 169 no. 158.

14 Lambert 2010a: 161.

15 As almost certainly a post-Periclean foundation, this priesthood was probably "democratic". Cf. Lambert 2010a: 161.

16 Lambert 2010a: 171, where inconclusive evidence for tribal rotation of this priesthood is noted.

the three other priests, all probably in Piraeus cults, honoured in no. 1.[17] In no. 13 a priestess of Demeter is crowned by the Council alone; she perhaps served in a sanctuary in an Attic deme.[18] No. 2 and no. 25 are too fragmentary for the priest honoured to be identified.

For the most part, however, it is not obvious from these decrees whether the priest was a *genos* priest or a "democratic" one.[19] From the city's point of view (and the gods' point of view) the services performed by both types of priest, and the qualities they were expected to display, were the same. The archetypal honorand of such decrees is, in fact, the democratic official, in office for one year only, and this suits well enough the "democratic" priests; but the *genos* priests are presented on the same democratic model. Despite the fact that they held office for life their services are constructed, like the democratic priests, as having taken place once only (in the case e.g. of sacrifices) and in the recent past (in the case e.g. of benefactions); there is no mention of appointment from a *genos*, or of qualities such as *eugeneia* associated with such appointment. A notable exception is the latest decree in the series, to which we shall return.

There is also a striking contrast between these decrees and the statues and other images of Athenian cult personnel recently discussed by R. von den Hoff (2008). These were, it seems, all or mostly privately dedicated, typically by the priests or priestesses themselves or members of their families, and, as far as polis priesthoods are concerned, they generally seem to have honoured *genos* priests rather than democratically appointed ones. Examples include the statue of the famous

---

17 Lambert 2010a: 170 Dionysos in Piraeus, 171 Poseidon Pelagios, 163–64 Ammon, where I raise the possibility that, as a fifth-century foundation of foreign origin, this priest was appointed from a group of orgeones, like the priesthood of Bendis. Such groups were similar in some respects to *gene*, but lacked the *genos'* strong ideological connection with *eugeneia*.

18 Polis priests in the Attic demes honoured by the Athenian Council: e.g. Kourionotes 1927–28: 39 no. 3 (dedication commemorating honouring of priest of Apollo Zoster at Halai Aixonides by Council and People); *I Rham.* 82 = *IG* II² 2849 (commemorating honouring of priest of Hero Archegetes at Rhamnous by Council, demesmen and soldiers). The Council had oversight of all Attic cults, cf. *IG* II² 204 = Rhodes-Osborne 1997 no. 58, 16–23; Lambert 2010a: 145 and 164–69.

19 The decree for the priest of Kalliste, no. 12, comes closest to making "democratic" tenure explicit (ll. 9–12). The restriction of priesthoods to a *genos* and life-tenure might be expected to endow *genos* priests with greater expertise than their "democratic" counterparts (cf. Chaniotis 2008: 20–26; the possession by some *genos* priests of specifically priestly names, e.g. Zakoros the hierophant, Blok-Lambert 2009: 114 no. 1, Penteteris the priestess of Athena, 106: no. 6, may also be relevant here, suggesting that their potential as priests was, in a sense, recognised from birth); but this is never alluded to in the decrees before the Augustan period.

Eteoboutad priestess Lysimache, already mentioned, on the base of which her 64 years service and her lifetime tenure are explicitly emphasised;[20] the wooden statues of Lykourgos and his sons and the associated *pinax* dedicated by Lykourgos' son Habron in the late fourth century and illustrating the succession of the priests of Poseidon Erechtheus back to Earth and Hephaistos;[21] and the inscription on the base of the dedication by Philtera, Eteoboutad priestess of Athena ca. 130 BC, explicitly claiming Eteoboutad blood and naming several famous ancestors, including the orator Lykourgos.[22] Such statues and images, and their associated inscriptions, commemorated long service and projected the prestige of the *eugeneia* associated with the *genos* priesthoods in a way that inscribed honorific decrees of the People, erected at the initiative of the city, did not.[23]

---

20 The precise circumstances of the erection of this post-mortem statue are unclear; but the naming of the priestess as "Lysimache, mother of -es of Phlya" may imply that her son, as well as perhaps being his mother's *kyrios* at the time of her death, was also the dedicator of the statue (note also the reference to her other children). The *genos* Eteoboutadai, who exercised a measure of control over the sanctuary space, presumably also played a role, if only in approving the placement. For a son named in a dedication by a priestess (of Demeter, 400–350 BC), perhaps as her *kyrios*, cf. *SEG* XVI 160 with Blok-Lambert 2009: 119 no. 4. For a statue of a priestess (Ameinokleia, priestess of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis in the early first century BC) dedicated by her sons and daughter, see *IG* II² 3495 = *I Eleus.* 268 (Blok-Lambert 2009: 120 no. 8); for statues of a priest (Sophokles of Acharnai, dadouch in the early first century BC) dedicated by his wife, see *IG* II² 3507 and 3508 = *I Eleus.* 277 and 278 (Blok-Lambert 2009: 117 no. 13).

21 "The *pinax* was dedicated by Habron, his [i.e. Lykourgos'] son, *having been allotted the priesthood from the genos and having yielded it to his brother Lykophron*; and for this reason Habron is portrayed passing the trident to him" [Plut.] *X Orat.* 843e–f. Cf. von den Hoff 2003: 180. The words in italics perhaps derive from an inscription on the *pinax*.

22 *IG* II² 3474; Blok-Lambert 2009: 107 no. 9; Connelly 2007: 117–18. The formulation of the epigram implies that the statue was of Philtera herself, but it is not clear whether the occasion of the statue was an honorific decree (cf. next note), or e.g. the beginning or end of her time in office (cf. Lysimache and Habron).

23 Statues of prominent Athenian politicians and generals were occasionally erected at public initiative and expense as an aspect of the award of the *megistai timai* (cf. n. 5), but there is no known case of the award of such honours to a priest or priestess. Priests and priestesses themselves, however, or their families, might make dedications commemorating public honours; cf. below at nn. 29 and 94 and e.g. *IG* II² 2944 = *I Eleus.* 236; *IG* II² 3509 = *I Eleus.* 298; *IG* II² 3510 = *I Eleus.* 301.

3. Comparison with other officials

It was normal to place inscribed decrees of all kinds in a location which had a religious aspect; but there is a significant difference between decrees honouring priests and those honouring other Athenian officials. Decrees honouring other officials were usually placed on the acropolis, the territory above all of Athena as patron deity of the whole life and work of the city.[24] All (probably) the decrees in our corpus were erected in a site appropriate to the relevant deity, usually in the priest's own sanctuary, occasionally in another location associated with the same deity.[25] This is in part simply a reflection of the divine topography of the city; but it is also a product of the idea that, by virtue of his or her divine office, the sanctuary of his or her deity is the priest's or priestess's territory in rather a strong sense. The same idea is manifest in the remarkable inscribed fourth-century decree from an Attic deme (perhaps Eupyridai) of the priest of Apollo Erithaseos, in which the priest, issuing a decree as if he were a public body, forbids "on behalf of himself and the demesmen and the Athenian People" the removal of wood or leaves from the sanctuary.[26] It is also implicit in the common practice of dating dedications in sanctuaries both by the name of the archon in office and of the priest, one that is also adopted strikingly in our no. 3, headed: "in the archonship of Euthykritos, but the priesthood (ἱερείως δὲ) of Androkles of Kerameis." In a way that sets him or her apart from other officials, the priest is a figure of authority in both space and time, presiding over his or her sanctuary

24 Liddel 2003, who notes that more decrees (but still a minority) were set up in other locations in the hellenistic period.

25 Priest's own sanctuary: Asklepios (explicitly no. 3, 28–29, no. 9, 27–28 and 48, no. 17, 14, etc.); Aglauros (no. 8, 36, perhaps also no. 15 and no. 16); Athena Polias (no. 10, no. 11, 3, on the acropolis qua domain of this priestess); Kalliste (no. 12, 27–28, no. 14, 6–7); Demeter (no. 13, 6–7, "by the temple of Demeter", perhaps in an Attic deme); dadouch of Eleusinian Mysteries (no. 28, found near sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis). Other location appropriate to deity: Zeus Soter (in Piraeus?), in third century by stoa of Zeus in Athenian Agora (no. 6, 28–29, no. 7, 11–12, see note to no. 6), in second century in Piraeus (findspot of no. 20); four Piraeus priests led by priest of Dionysos, apparently originally intended for theatre of Dionysos in the Piraeus, but shifted to theatre of Dionysos in Athens (Lambert 2003 suggested because of the lifting of anxiety about the threat to the city from Philip II in the aftermath of the battle of Chaironeia). Priests of Delos: on Delos (no. 22). Obscure: Amphiaraos (no. 5); a priestess (no. 25).

26 *IG* II² 1362. Cf. Lambert 2010a: 167–68 (*IG* II² 5010 also purports to refer to this deity, but Jaime Curbera kindly advises *per ep.* that this entry in *IG* II² arises from a misunderstanding and that no such inscription exists).

while in office, as the archon presides over the space-time of the polis as a whole.[27]

When we move to the substance of the actions and qualities for which our priests and priestesses are honoured, the picture is very much more one of close similarities to other city officials than of marked differences. As typically with other officials, the honorific process is initiated by a report by the relevant priest, or occasionally by someone other than the priest, to the Council about the priest's performance and the successful outcome of the rites, eliciting in the Council a proposal for honours, which is then usually submitted by the Council to the Assembly for its agreement and a proposal for the vote of honours, generally a crown and an inscription. In two respects the hellenistic honours are more modest than those awarded earlier: before 321 the crowns are of gold (500 or 1000 drachmas), after 321, of foliage;[28] and before 321, but not after, there is also financial provision for the honorand to make a dedication and associated sacrifice.[29] This reflects the weaker financial position of the city in the third century and after, when it becomes (or, at least, constructs itself) in economic terms as more receiver than giver, a feature to which we shall return below; but the pattern for priests is not notably different from other officials. Like other officials too, at least before 321, priests are required to render accounts before they can receive their awards; the formulaic phrase, ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶι ("when he has rendered his accounts"), is used systematically in the decrees predating the end of the classical democracy,[30] and a reference to the honorand having rendered due accounts (*logous*) is also present in the rather self-consciously democratising decree for the priest of Kalliste, no. 12, of 234/3? (l. 13–15).

The central act for which the priest is honoured is typically the performance of sacrifices and a report on their successful outcome.[31] To

---

27 On this see also Marietta Horster's paper in this volume.

28 Gold: no. 1, 3. Foliage: [6], 7, 8, [9], 10, [11], 12, [13], [14], [17], [18], 21, 22 (laurel for priests of Apollo's island of Delos), [26].

29 No. 1, 35–36 (sacrifice and dedication); no. 3, 23–26 (only sacrifice mentioned). Such provision may have been a feature specific to decrees bestowing honours for performance of religious duties. See Lambert 2005: 128–29 with note 12; 2007b: 81.

30 On the liability of polis priests to *euthynai*, like other officials, see Aeschin. 3.18, who remarks that the law makes priests and priestesses, who receive nothing but priestly dues (*gera*), subject to *euthynai*, jointly and severally, both individual priests and collectively the *gene*, Eumolpidai, Kerykes and the rest. Cf. Rhodes 1972: 15–16.

31 Though not specified in detail in the decrees, the acts performed by a priest were the "initiation" of the sacrifice by cutting a lock of the sacrificial victim's hair, the speaking of a prayer, and the placing of the god's portion on the altar; not the actual killing of the victim, which was done by a butcher (see Parker 2005: 97). Sometimes

quote the earliest in the series they were "for the health and preservation (*soteria*) of the Athenian Council and People (15) and of the children and women and other possessions of the Athenians." This or very similar wording continues through the series, expanded as appropriate at different times to comprehend in the list of beneficiaries appropriate hellenistic kings and their families and, in the case of the decree for the Delian priests (no. 22), the Romans (to whose benefaction Athens owed her restored control of Delos after 166).[32] The priest has done a service for the Athenians, their dependents and chattels, and significant others, in respect of their relations with the gods. It differs in its detailed particularities from the service rendered for example by a Pytheas of Alopeke, superintendent of the water supply, honoured in a decree of 333/2 for laying on an improved supply in the Amphiaraion and the temple of Ammon;[33] or a Phanodemos of Thymaitadai who was voted as having made the best speech in the Council in the ninth prytany of the year 343/2;[34] but it does not differ in its general objectives and results: the well-being of the city.

While sacrificing for the health and preservation of the city is the core of a priest's service, it can extend to a number of other actions: in the hellenistic period, for example, it commonly includes the conduct of a *pannychis*, or all-night revel (for Aglauros and Asklepios); the adorning of a *trapeza*, a table (for Aglauros, Asklepios and Athena); and in later inscriptions for Asklepios (the earliest is no. 23, late second century) the strewing of a couch, the last two connected with rites of *theoxenia*. Other specific services tend only to be mentioned where the priest has personally made a financial contribution. This is a feature specifically of the post-321 decrees, and we shall return to it when we come to consider the diachronic perspective. For the time being I note that, once again, no distinction is made in this regard between priests supplied by *gene* and those selected from the whole citizen body: the *genos* priestess of Athena Polias may dedicate garments, the

---

the sacrifices are specified as "entry sacrifices", *eisiteteria* or *eisagogeia* (Zeus Soter, no. 6, 20 and no. 7, 3–4; Aglauros, no. 8, 11–12 and 26–27; Asklepios, no. 18, 7, no. 24, 9, no. 26, 4). It is not clear from the texts whether the reference is to the priest's own entry into office, or the entry to office of the Council or other officials (cf. Parker 2005: 98), but the latter seems more likely as a service of wider significance for the well-being of the city and therefore suitable to attract specific mention in a decree of the Assembly.

32 The reference to "other possessions" occurs uniquely in no. 1; Lambert 2003 suggested that this may reflect anxiety about the threat to Attica from Philip II in the aftermath of the battle of Chaironeia. See above note 25.

33 *IG* II² 338 = Lambert 2004: no. 15 (333/2).

34 *IG* II² 223 = Lambert 2004: no. 1, decree III (343/2).

"democratic" priest of Kalliste may dedicate a stone altar; *genos* priests and democratic ones alike donate money for sacrifices. And again there is no difference here from decrees for other city officials and indeed for foreigners. Reference to personal donations, to contributions *"ek ton idion"* are such a pervasive feature of such decrees that it would be pointless to try and list them.

Priests and priestesses are typically praised for two virtues which point in different directions: *eusebeia* directed at the gods (corresponding, as it were, to the divine face of the inscription), and *philotimia* directed at the Athenian People (the human face).

Eusebeia is the right-thinking attitude of mind, piety, or reverent awe, towards the gods, which marks out a good priest, from the divine point of view. It is connected with another quality or set of qualities that are sometimes singled out in the decrees, also conceived of as pleasing to the gods, the seemliness of the priest's behaviour and his attention to propriety and good order (*eukosmia*).

Philotimia, honour-loving behaviour, is that quality which, from a human point of view, and in a society which ascribes high value to honour, induces a priest to perform his duties well. He will perform them well precisely because the city will honour him for it. Though outstanding performance of core functions of the office may justify praise for display of *philotimia,* such praise is specially appropriate if the honorand has gone beyond the call of duty, particularly by contributing personally or financially to the public benefit.

Neither of these virtues is exclusive to priests. *Philotimia* is the classic civic virtue, praised in every type of honorific decree for every type of honorand. From around the middle of the fourth century it becomes the explicit centre-piece of the ideological framework of such decrees, encapsulated in the language of the "hortatory intention" clause: the decree is passed, this clause states, specifically to encourage others to behave in similar honour-seeking ways in the expectation that they will also be honoured. And we duly find such hortatory clauses among the decrees honouring priests.[35] *Eusebeia* is a characteristic virtue of a priest, but can be shown by any honorand who is praised for the performance of religious functions (as e.g. the *agonothetes* honoured in no. 29).

35 On *philotimia* and the associated "hortatory intention" see most recently Luraghi 2010; Lambert 2011.

4. Gender

How far is the construction of a priestess in these decrees similar to, how far different from, that of a priest? The two best preserved and most informative inscriptions honouring priestesses are no. 8, for a priestess of Aglauros, and no. 10, for a priestess of Athena Polias, both dating to about the third quarter of the third century.

The priestess of Athena honoured by no. 10, [Lysistra]te (or perhaps [Polystra]te or [Phanostra]te) daughter of Polyeuktos of Bate, was appointed from the branch of the Eteoboutadai based in the deme Bate which had held this priesthood since at least the famous fifth-century priestess, Lysimache daughter of Drakontides of Bate. This branch of the Eteoboutadai does not seem to have been especially wealthy; it qualifies for entry into John Davies' catalogue of the liturgical class, *Athenian Propertied Families,* only by virtue of this priestess's marriage, not in its own right.[36] Moreover, a case can be made that this branch had become attenuated by this time and that [-]te, last in the line from Bate, was an *epikleros* who carried eligibility for the priesthood into the family of her wealthy husband, Archestratos son of Euthykrates of Amphitrope (l. 26).[37]

The paternal family of the priestess of Aglauros in no. 8, Timokrite daughter of Polynikos of Aphidna, probably appointed from the *genos* Salaminioi, is obscure. Her father was a councillor in 304/3,[38] but that is not an indicator of particular wealth or distinction at that (democratic) period. Otherwise no member of the family is known. She also, however, married into wealth. As David Lewis showed, the proposer of this decree, Demostratos son of Aristophanes of Paiania, was probably the priestess's husband (father of Aristophanes, son of the priestess, on whose report the decree was based); and he was from a family of liturgical class (*APF* 3276).[39]

---

36 *APF* p. 169: "For no member of this branch can even moderate wealth be attested, and they qualify for inclusion in the Register solely because of a third-century marriage into the rich family of Archestratos of Amphitrope."

37 Blok-Lambert 2009: 105–109; *APF* 2419. In Blok-Lambert's scheme the next priestess, Theodote daughter of Polyoktos of Amphitrope, acquired her eligibility by virtue of [–]te's marriage to Archestratos.

38 Lambert 2000: 60 no. 5 (*SEG* 51. 93).

39 Lewis 1983: 48.

The articulation of the services performed by these two priestesses is the same as for male priests.[40] The priestess of Aglauros had performed sacrifices, specifically entry-sacrifices, for the health and preservation of the Athenians (etc.), supervised the good order of the *pannychis* and adorned a table. The duties are precisely those for which male priests are honoured in other decrees. The priestess of Athena had also performed sacrifices, adorned a table and carried out the duties prescribed for her by law, and, in addition, had made two personal contributions. Again much the same could be said of any third-century male priest; and again we may note a difference from the pattern observable in the visual record, funerary monuments and vases and reliefs, in which priest and priestess are conventionally distinguished by different iconographic symbols: the priest by a sacrificial knife, the priestess by a key.[41] In this, largely private, perspective, priest and priestess are differentiated, the male as performer of the sacrifice, the female as custodian of the temple. From the (male) public perspective of the honorific decrees, they were, as far as their public duties were concerned, the same; and it is perhaps significant that it is the private icon of the male priest, that of the sacrificer, that predominates in the public presentation. The construction of the priestly function of a priestess is in this sense a masculine one.[42]

Priestesses, or at least the priestess of Athena, could also be constructed on a masculine model in honorific decrees of foreign cities. The most ubiquitous honour, apart from the crown, awarded a foreigner (usually male of course) in recognition of service to the city was the proxeny. In 106/5 the city of Delphi, in recognition of "the Athenian People having performed the Pythais (*official procession to Delphi*) for Pythian Apollo magnificently and worthily of the god" and because "the priestess of Athena, Chrysis daughter of Niketes,[43] performed her tenure at home well and gracefully and worthily of the Athenian People and of our city", praised and crowned the priestess and awarded her and her descendants "proxeny, priority right of consultation of the oracle, priority in legal process, inviolability, freedom from taxation, preferential seating at all the competitive events laid on

40 On the equivalence of priests and priestesses in respect of their public functions, in essence praying and sacrificing on behalf of the People, cf. Aeschin. 3.17–18 with Georgoudi 2005: 78.

41 Georgoudi 2005: 80–82; Connelly 2007: 92–104 and, on funerary monuments, chapter 8; Horster 2010: 185–91.

42 On the question, how far tenure of office as priestess "converted a female to a male" (Cole 2004: 122) see also the remarks of Georgourdi 2005: 77.

43 Blok-Lambert 2009: 107 no. 10.

by the city, and right of ownership of land and a house and all the other honours which apply to other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city."[44] These are all rights and privileges that would normally be exercised by males; but here they are granted to the priestess of Athena Polias in her role of chief representative of the patron deity of Athens, embodiment of the city's religious identity.

While there is little to differentiate priestess from priest in her publicly constructed role, to return to Chrysis' third-century predecessor, honoured in no. 10, her gender does achieve expression in the detail of her personal contributions. They consist in the dedication of certain garments to Athena and a donation of 100 drachmas "from her own resources" for the traditional sacrifice of the *genos* Praxiergidai. The dedication of garments connects with the characteristically feminine culture of garment making and care which is a feature of female religious activity in general and of the cult of Athena on the acropolis in particular, for example in the rituals surrounding the *peplos*.[45] The donation to the Praxiergidai for their sacrifice also connects with this feminine world, for they were the *genos* which had specific responsibilities for the care of Athena's statue and its garments.

The other main difference is that, in both these decrees honouring priestesses, her male relations, including her *kyrios,* are in evidence. Decrees for priests are usually based on reports from the priests themselves. The decree for the priestess of Aglauros was based on a report, not of the priestess, but of her son, and was proposed, as we have seen, by a man who was probably the priestess's husband. Unfortunately the upper part of the decree for the priestess of Athena is missing. As currently restored line 6 implies that it is the priestess herself who has reported, but the relevant text is in square brackets, and is uncertain.[46] Her husband certainly is mentioned later on, in ll. 26–30, where he is praised for his piety towards the goddess and his honour-loving behaviour towards the Council and People.

What exactly he has done is unspecified, but we may surely infer that, as the priestess's *kyrios,* he had quietly supported the priestess's work in general and her personal financial contributions in particular: a confirming instance of the co-operative approach to management of household property by husband and wife which seems implicit, for example, in a well-known passage of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and

44 *IG* II² 1136. Cf. Connelly 2007: 1.

45 On these see Aleshire-Lambert 2003, a re-edition of an inscription honouring the girls who worked the wool for Athena's *peplos* in 108/7.

46 In general on the necessity for priestesses to be represented in the Council and Assembly by their *kyrioi* or other male family members, cf. Georgoudi 2005: 79–80.

which, as Lin Foxhall has shown, was regarded (by men) as the desirable ideal.[47] Co-operative – and fluid as regards the one on whom the emphasis lies. More often it is the husband, and we may surmise that in this case the honour for the wealthy Archestratos also quietly recognised that, by his marriage to this priestly *epikleros*, he had helped secure the future of the *genos* and the priesthood; but here of course it is appropriate for the wife to be the foreground presence; and despite the well-known restrictions on the capacity of women to dispose of property, the donations of this priestess are explicitly stated to be "from her own resources".

There is a further notable difference between priests and priestesses as they are constructed in these decrees. Normally, male priests are praised for their *eusebeia* towards the gods and their *philotimia* towards the Council and People. Our two priestesses are praised for their *eusebeia* towards the gods, but *philotimia* retreats into the background. In the decree for the priestess of Aglauros it is not mentioned at all, consistently with the fact that, unusually for a hellenistic priest, she is praised only for the performance of her public duties and not for any personal donations.[48] In the formal clause justifying the honours for the priestess of Athena (ll. 25–26) she too is praised only for her *eusebeia*. In this case, however, the priestess had made personal contributions, and *philotimia* is mentioned earlier on in the decree, where she is said to have taken care of the adorning of the table well and with *philotimia* and her donations of garments and to the Praxiergidai are presented as specific examples of her continuing display of *philotimia* towards the

47 Xen. *Oik.* 9.16–19; Foxhall 1989.

48 This priestess nicely illustrates one of the two criteria which, in reality, could secure you a decree in your honour (cf. Chaniotis 2008: 18). Whatever the emphasis in the decree itself, one imagines that the scope for priests to show outstanding *eusebeia* in the conduct of their sacrifices was usually rather limited. What caused you to stand out was either some special additional contribution – in the hellenistic decrees this was usually financial or personal (as e.g. in the deployment of one's children in the service of the god), but in the classical period it could encompass services such as (if I am right) obtaining the favour of the gods at a time of crisis (no. 1) or being specially helpful to the "managers of good order in the theatre" (no. 3). The other prerequisite, however, was for your cause to be promoted by connections who had influence in Council or Assembly: this priestess of Aglauros, who had, it seems, done nothing special, was fortunate in having a husband and a son who were assiduous in her support. This factor was essential, even if you had performed extraordinary service. Note for example that the proposer of decree 3 for Androkles, priest of Asklepios, is from the same deme as the honorand and, given the presence of the -κλης/-κλειδης component in both their names, may have been related to him; and it may not be coincidental that his son made a dedication to Asklepios (*IG* II² 4404).

goddess "on every occasion". The interesting words here seem to me to be "towards the goddess" since in the normal formulation it is *eusebeia* that is displayed towards the gods and *philotimia* in the human sphere.[49] The decree-drafter wants on the one hand to get across the fact that the priestess has made personal contributions, including financial ones, but on the other hand feels it inappropriate to ascribe to her a *philotimia* directed at the Council and People. That is attributed only to her husband (ll. 29–30). In part this is surely because, insofar as it involves personal contributions of financial value, the *philotimia* of a priestess is only possible if facilitated by a *kyrios.* Partly it is because a priestess has no – or at least a limited – locus in the male world of the hurly-burly of Athenian politics, of the Council and the Assembly and the whole business of competition for honour. In a sense of course these honorific decrees draw her a little into that world, but they draw her in only up to a point. A certain separateness and aloofness from the male arena is maintained.

5. Diachronic perspective

The decrees fall fairly neatly into three periods: nos. 1–4, which predate the end of the classical democracy, the bulk of the decrees (5–26), from the hellenistic period before the sack of the city by Sulla; and the one example we have from after 86, the decree of the Augustan period, no. 28.

With the classical and early hellenistic decrees the continuities are much more notable than the differences. The central act for which the priests are honoured, sacrificing on behalf of the city, remains the same and indeed typically continues to be expressed in (almost) precisely the same words. There is a tendency for other religious contributions to accrete to this central core: most commonly for specific reference to be included to the entry sacrifices, and to the *pannychis* and the adorning of tables, and later the strewing of couches, but it is not clear whether we should infer from this that priests did more of such things in the hellenistic period than they had before. Such activities were high-

49 The rule is not quite universal: in no. 13 (priestess of Demeter or her husband, c. 229/8–203) we have "*eusebeia* towards the gods and philotimia" (unspecified to whom), and in no. 19 (priest of Asklepios, 165/4) there is a clearer exception: "*eusebeia* and *philotimia* which he continues to display towards the gods" (ll. 18–20), wording which recurs in the next extant decree for this priest (no. 21, 10–12, c. 160–140). By no. 26 (c. 112–110), however, we are back to "*eusebeia* towards the gods and *philotimia* towards the People" (ll. 27–29).

lighted in that period to an extent because they supplied opportunities for display and personal benefaction by the priest; to an extent this may simply be an example of the observable tendency for all types of honorific decree to become more wordy and specific as time progresses. There are, however, three other differences between classical and early hellenistic that would seem to be significant.

(1) in the classical period priests are praised for the performance of their religious duties and other officials for the performance of the core duties of their office: councillors, for example, for their contributions to debate in the Council, superintendents of the water-supply for their contributions to the quality of the water-supply.[50] In the hellenistic period other officials are praised mainly for their performance of the same religious functions as priests are praised for. I include an example chosen at random in the Appendix (no. 29), a decree honouring the *agonothetes* of the City Dionysia in the mid-third century. The substance of the decree begins with several lines praising the *agonothetes* for his sacrifices, in wording which deploys precisely the same formulae as the decrees honouring priests; and then right at the end there is a brief reference to his specific functions in relation to the *agones* of the festival itself – in reality, one imagines, the substance of his office. The same could be said of the decrees honouring most hellenistic officials – sacrifices are emphasised, the "secular" substance of their functions retires into the background. The reason for this is not apparent on the surface of the texts; but the key to understanding it perhaps lies in a dynamic that is detectable in another genre of honorific decree: those honouring ephebes and their *kosmetai*.[51] In Eric Perrin's persuasive analysis,[52] over the course of the hellenistic period the city disengaged itself more and more from the financing of the ephebate in general and of associated sacrifices in particular, obliging the ephebes themselves and their *kosmetai* to carry the costs; and in the second century this becomes explicit in the wording of the decrees themselves, which, to take an example from 128/7, praise the ephebes who participated in a Pythais because they "performed a liturgical service in all the sacrifices piously and with love of honour, omitting nothing that was needful", the clear implication being that they had funded the sacrifices.[53] In the classical democracy public sacrifices had been funded by collective

50 As e.g. in the inscriptions mentioned above, notes 33 and 34.

51 I am grateful to Eric Perrin for suggesting to me the line of explanation I pursue here.

52 Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: 256–59.

53 *SEG* 15.104 = Perrin 2007: T 25, 19–20: ἐλειτούργησαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις ἁπάσαις εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως οὐθὲν ἐνλείποντες τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

means, usually income from property managed by the city (or e.g. a deme or *genos*) for this purpose;[54] but in the hellenistic period these systems broke down and provision of sacrificial victims depended mainly on the generosity of those wealthy individuals who were also the city's office-holders. Even where donations of victims are not explicitly referred to in the text of the decrees, we may perhaps assume that the prominence of sacrifices in decrees honouring non-priestly hellenistic officials reflects the fact that, generally speaking, this was conceived of as a significant locus of their euergetism,[55] one wholly appropriate to be mentioned in an inscription one face of which was directed at the gods; appropriate too in respect of the inscription's human face, for nothing was more important than the favour of the gods in securing the well-being of the citizens.[56]

(2) Second, in the classical democracy the priests are bound more closely into what one may describe as the democratic collective than their hellenistic successors. We have already seen how the obligation to render accounts (implicitly like other officials), is emphasised before 321. No. 1 displays two other unusual features. It is not, as all the other decrees except no. 22 (for the priests of Delos), for a single priest, but for a collective of four,[57] and it is the only decree in which priests are honoured alongside ten *hieropoioi*, chosen, as the text emphasises (l. 23), by the Council. In no. 3, for the "democratic" priest of Asklepios the

54 [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.9 (*polis* sacrifices at public expense enable the whole *demos*, including the poor, to celebrate and obtain portions of the sacrifices, ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ εὐωχούμενος καὶ διαλαγχάνων τὰ ἱερεῖα); Isoc. *Areop.* 7.29 (ancestral sacrifices funded ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων). We can see this system in operation e.g. in the decree of 418/7 providing for the rental of the temenos of Kodros, Neleus and Basile, the income to be paid, via the *apodektai*, to the treasurers of the Other Gods (*IG* I³ 84); in the accounts recording specific properties of Other Gods rented out in 343/2 (*Agora* 19 L6); and in the law and decree of the 330s that provides for funding of sacrifices at the Little Panathenaia from the rent of land designated the "*Nea*", *IG* II² 334 + *SEG* 18.13 (= Lambert 2005: 144 no. 7). Cf. Rosivach 1994: ch. 3; Horster 2004: 147–64, 208–10.

55 As Socrates points out to Kritoboulos, a wealthy citizen is obliged above all to make many large sacrifices, if he is to be tolerated by gods and men (Xen. *Oik.* 2.4–5).

56 It is also doubtless relevant in this context that public sacrifice provided citizens with their main opportunity to feast on meat. Cf. the passage of the Old Oligarch mentioned above (note 54); Rosivach 1994: 2–4.

57 The priest of Dionysos takes the initiative in this enterprise, and this may reflect the fact that the theatre of Dionysos in the Piraeus, like the theatre at Athens, was public space in a rather strong sense (e.g. meetings of the Assembly were sometimes held there, and state laws and decrees occasionally set up there, as was apparently the original intention with our no. 1, cf. Lambert 2003: 65; 2007b: 77); but we should not, of course, infer any formal concept of a hierarchy among priests serving different gods (and some priests in prominent Piraeus cults, e.g. that of Asklepios, were not involved at all).

point – and I think it is essentially the same point – is implicit in two unique features. The priest of Asklepios in that decree is praised for his regular religious duties certainly, but remarkably also emphasis is placed on a report from those who had been chosen by lot to be *epimeletai* of the *eukosmia* of the theatre (which was adjacent to the Asklepieion) to the effect that the priest had been helpful to them in the performance of their duties (exactly what he had done is unfortunately left unspecified, though it perhaps had to do with the public sacrifice to Asklepios which took place on 8 Elaphebolion, the same day as the *proagon* of the City Dionysia, cf. Aeschin. 3. 66–67 with scholia). Moreover no. 3 is the only decree in this corpus where a priest is not praised for his *eusebeia* and his *philotimia*, but his *arete* and *dikaiosyne* (ll. 22–23), virtues much more characteristic of officials whose powers and duties were primarily "secular",[58] and whose office entailed the exercise of some form of discretionary power in relation to their fellow-citizens (perhaps exercised in this case in respect of the *eukosmia* of the theatre).

(3) The third factor rounds out the picture conveyed by the first two. It is the emphasis on the personal contributions of the priests in the hellenistic decrees, which is absent from the classical ones. This may include e.g. personally supplying the victims for sacrifices;[59] dedicating garments[60] or altars[61] to the god; contributing sums of money for sacrifices and other purposes;[62] contributing choruses of maidens to the all-night revel;[63] extending invitations to the Council;[64] supplying his own children to assist with the service of the god.[65] It might be temp-

58 *Arete*, like some other virtues, notably *philotimia*, was not explicitly praised in earlier honorific decrees, perhaps because it had aristocratic-elitist connotations that sat uneasily with the collectivisit ideology of the radical democracy (thus Whitehead 2009: 53–54, arguing that *andragathia* was originally used as a less ideologically charged substitute). However, by around the mid-fourth century these hesitations had been overcome. *Arete* begins to be praised in decrees in the 360s (first in *IG* II² 107 = Rhodes-Osborne 2007: no. 31, honouring the Mytilenians) and *philotimia* emerges in the 340s, alongside the hortatory intention clause (cf. Lambert 2011). On virtues praised in honorific decrees before 321 the fundamental treatments are: Whitehead 1983 and 1993; Veligianni-Terzi 1997. There is, as yet, no systematic treatment of the hellenistic decrees.

59 No. 24, 12, no. 26, 7 (Asklepios).

60 No. 10, 16–18 (Athena Polias).

61 No. 12, 13 (Kalliste).

62 No. 10, 18–20 (Athena Polias, 100 dr.); no. 17, 2 (Asklepios, at least 200 dr.); no. 18, 9–10, no. 24, 13, no. 26, 8, no. 27, 12 (Asklepios, *pannychis*), no. 26, 17 (Asklepios, [–] dr.).

63 No. 24, 22 (Asklepios).

64 No. 24, 28 (Asklepios).

65 No. 24, 18–19 and 22–25, no. 26, 13–14, no. 27, 13–14 (Asklepios).

ting to ascribe the absence of reference to priestly benefactions before 321 to mere reticence: the reality, on this view, would always have been that priests made personal contributions, and it simply became more acceptable to refer explicitly to these in the less democratic and collectivist political ethos of the hellenistic period. There may be something in this; there are, in fact, occasional references to personal benefactions in religious contexts in honorific decrees before the end of the classical democracy;[66] but it is not, I think, merely a surface phenomenon of this sort. In no. 1 it is specified explicitly that the provision of the victims for the sacrifices was one of the duties performed, not by the priest, but by the *hieropoioi* appointed by the Council (ll. 24–25); in the hellenistic decrees it is quite frequently the priest personally who is said to have provided the victims, or money for their purchase. There was a real difference between the extent to which a classical priest was expected to contribute personally and financially and the extent to which this was expected of his hellenistic successor; and this was driven by the same politico-economic logic as we noted above: the collapse of conventional, collective, means of religious funding, which went hand-in-hand with the emergence of a much more oligarchic political system and ethos after 321. The shift from awards of costly golden crowns to the foliage variety, and the termination of the practice of awarding money to the honorands for a sacrifice and dedication, is another aspect of the same process: the balance of the reciprocal relationship between honouring and honoured has shifted; economically, the honorand has become more completely the giver and the city bestowing the honours more completely the taker.

The emphasis on personal benefactions increases over time: in the third century the donations are fairly modest – a garment, a stone altar, a contribution to a sacrifice – and they are presented as an adjunct to the main work of the priest, the performance of the sacrifices. By the time of the series of five decrees for priests of Asklepios, between c. 150 and 94/3 (nos. 23–27) the core function, though still mentioned first, is much less prominent than the long catalogue of the priest's benefactions which occupies most of the decree. This second-century development is paralleled in other types of honorific decree, e.g. those

66 Most clearly in the decree honouring Phanodemos of Thymaitadai, who had "legislated well and in an honour-loving way about the sanctuary of Amphiaraos [in Oropos], so that the quadrennial festival and the other sacrifices to the gods … may be as fine as possible, and he has supplied the means for these things (porous peporiken) and for the repair of the sanctuary", *IG* VII 4253 = Lambert 2004 no. 16 (332/1). This, however, is arguably an early instance of the hellenistic pattern.

honouring ephebes and their *kosmetai*,[67] and reflects in part simply the strengthening of a pre-existing trend, in part, however, also the increasing wealth (due largely to the acquisition of Delos) and narrowness of an elite which was beginning already to form itself on a Roman model.

One would expect this development to have gone hand-in-hand with an increase in the socio-economic status of priests in the hellenistic period, and, though the sample is rather small for full statistical analysis, it is suggestive that this was indeed the case, with a notable increase in the extent to which the priests belonged to the narrow elite of wealth after ca. 150 – the same time that emphasis in the decrees shifts markedly to the priest's personal benefactions.

The Athenians of the Lykourgan period are better documented than those of any other, but of the five identifiable priests honoured in the decrees before 321, just two (both in no. 1) are otherwise attested or from known families: Meixigenes of Cholleidai, priest of Dionysos [in the Piraeus], the leader, or spokesman, of the group of four priests honoured in no. 1. He was also honoured by the Piraeus-based corporation, the Paraloi (*IG* II² 1254), probably as its treasurer, and his father was a merchant who became embroiled in a legal dispute about one of his cargoes ([Dem.] 58).[68] Himeraios of Phaleron, also honoured in no. 1, was brother of the famous Demetrios who was to be ruler of Athens from 317 to 307, and was among the prominent figures executed by Antipater after the Lamian War.[69] He is by a good margin the most prominent man honoured in any of the decrees in our corpus (at least before no. 28), though notably the priesthood he held, that of Poseidon Pelagios, is one of the most obscure. One can not, it seems, necessarily correlate the prominence of a priesthood with the prominence of the priest.[70] The other three priests, including the priest of Asklepios honoured in no. 3, are not otherwise known, in person or by family.

---

67 Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: 257.

68 *APF* 9754, cf. Lambert 2003: 62.

69 *APF* 7578, cf. Lambert 2003: 62.

70 As a counterpoint to this, one may observe that, of the known tenants of the five most prominent *genos* priesthoods in the classical period (listed by Blok-Lambert 2009), only two qualify for entry into Davies' *Athenian Propertied Families* in their own right: the two men named Kallias son of Hipponikos of Alopeke, grandfather and grandson, who were dadouchs and reputedly the wealthiest men in Greece (*APF* 7826, highly exceptional individuals, in this and other ways; cf. Lambert forthcoming); and Chairippe, priestess of Demeter at Eleusis, whose brothers, Aristodemos and Philophron of Kephisia, dedicated a statue of her, made by Praxiteles, c. 360 (*APF* 743). The two branches of the Eteoboutadai which supplied the priestess of Athena Polias and the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus qualify for entry into *APF* only by marriage into wealthy families (*APF* pp. 169 and 348).

It is difficult to generalise from the small number of identifiable third-century priests in our group, but their socio-economic status does not seem to have been especially high. Neither the priest of Zeus Soter honoured in no. 7, Smikros son of Philinos (unfortunately his deme is unknown), nor the priest of Kalliste honoured by no. 12, Antidoros son of Antidoros of Pergase, are otherwise known; and the other two attested third-century tenants of this "democratic" priesthood are also from obscure families.[71] We saw above that the two third-century priestesses, honoured in no. 8 and no. 10, are notable more for their marriages to wealthy men than for any inherited wealth of their own families. Nevertheless, the benefactions ascribed to these third-century priests, albeit relatively modest, do suggest more than average affluence, and there is some confirmation here in the information we have from other sources about our best documented polis priesthood, that of Asklepios, not represented in our group at this period (the name of the honorand of no. 9 is unfortunately not preserved). As Robert Parker has observed, while prominent priests of Asklepios are unusual in the fourth century, they are more common in the third.[72]

It is in the second century, however, especially after 166, that our priests become identifiable members of a narrow elite of wealth, interconnected by family ties,[73] typically with links to the island of Delos. Unfortunately the name of the priest of Asklepios honoured by no. 17 in 179/8–161/0 is not preserved,[74] but it is apparent from his father's name and deme, son of Sarapion of Pambotadai, that he was closely related to one of the priests of Delos honoured a decade or two later in no. 22, Sarapion [son of Ammonios] of Pambotadai, who is also attested as a borrower of sacred money on the island in 157/6 (*PAA* 812230). Our priest of Asklepios is the first attested member of a wealthy family prominent on Delos for the rest of the second century.[75] The priest of Asklepios honoured by no. 18 in 173/2 is also nameless, but it is in this decree that a priesthood is first articulated as a "liturgy" which had been "undertaken" (l. 7), an expression used of the same priesthood in

71 Lambert 2010a: 159–60.

72 Parker 1996: 269, pointing to the entries for 260/59–247/6 in Aleshire 1989, with Aleshire 1991.

73 In general on the role played by religious offices in the family strategies of the late hellenistic Athenian elite see Perrin-Saminadayar 2005; my Foreword in Aleshire-Lambert 2011.

74 Ammonios is a possible, but uncertain, restoration. Cf. Aleshire 1991: 83.

75 Aleshire 1991: 83–84. The link of this family's fortunes with Delos raises the strong possibility that no. 17 in fact postdates 166.

no. 27 (ὑπομείνας τὴν λειτουργίαν).[76] The priest of Asklepios in no. 19, Protagoras son of Niketes of Pergase (*PAA* 790885), is a member of another typical family of the late hellenistic Athenian elite, with connections to both Delphi and Delos, though in this case its wealth can be traced back to the mid-third century.[77] Again close family connections with other tenants of priesthoods and other prominent families of the period can be traced, including to the priestess of Athena, Chrysis daughter of Niketes of Pergase, who, as we saw above, was honoured by Delphi. The third of our identifiable second-century priests of Asklepios, [Leonides?] son of Nikokrates of Phlya (*PAA* 606615) is from a somewhat less well-known family than Protagoras, but its membership of the second-century elite is indicated by the appearance of Nikokrates son of Zoilos of Phlya as an ephebe in 196/5, and of Zoilos son of Zoilos of Phlya as priest of Hagne Aphrodite on Delos in 106/5.[78] The fact that the priests of Delos honoured in 153/2 (no. 22) are not given father's names makes it impossible to identify the family connections of three of them (Lenaios of Hermous, Leontichos of Dekeleia and Straton of Kephisia); but the others bear the usual marks of the elite, including connections to the ephebate,[79] and the performance of other actions and offices displaying wealth.[80] The family of Pylades [son of Aischron] of Perithoidai (*PAA* 795745) is not known, but we do know that the priesthood he held in 153/2 was that of Artemis.[81]

The socio-economic shifts of the hellenistic period impacted alike on democratic and *genos* priesthoods. In the classical period, public sacrifices by *genos* priests, like those of "democratic" priests, had been funded collectively; but in 237/6 it seems that the *genos* Praxiergidai could only perform their traditional sacrifice because of the personal benefaction of the priestess of Athena Polias, and she herself was only in a position to make good that funding because she had made an advantageous marriage into a wealthy family. Fortunately for the survival of the old priesthoods the *eugeneia* associated with *genos* membership and priesthoods made such marriages (and other family strategies such as adoptions) particularly attractive to the wealthy, and the influx

76 Cf. no. 26, 3, ὑπομείνας τὴν ἱερωσύνην (also of a priest of Asklepios).

77 For the abundant evidence for this family see Aleshire 1991: 175–78 and *PAA*.

78 Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: 75 E48.

79 For Gorgias [son of Asklepiades] of Ionidai, *PAA* 280540, Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: p. 515; and Protogenes of Paiania, *PAA* 791680, Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: p. 494 E1108; Herakleides of Pambotadai, *PAA* 485930.

80 E.g. Drakon of Phlya, *PAA* 374380, was also a guarantor on Delos, Gorgias of Ionidai also gymnasiarch on Delos, Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: p. 515.

81 *I Délos* 2374, 3.

of this new wealth helped secure a renaissance of the *gene* in the later hellenistic period, after 166.[82]

6. Themistokles the dadouch and the emergence of the aristocratic priest

This leads us to the latest, and in some ways the most remarkable, decree in this corpus, that of 20/19 BC (or thereabouts) honouring the dadouch Themistokles, of the *genos* Kerykes.[83] In nos. 1–26 in the collection we are dealing with a series in which the continuities are much more notable than the differences. In no. 27 we are in an entirely different ideological world, obsessed with researching traditional rites and customs and especially with researching, establishing and displaying "the *eugeneia* and the priesthood deriving from it" which the decree states that Themistokles had inherited from a long list of named ancestors, extracted from the register of the Kerykes, stretching back to the third century. For three centuries priests and priestesses had been honoured by the city in essentially the same terms, those from the *gene* in precisely the same terms as those appointed from the citizen body as a whole, with no hint of a reference to the qualities of the priest being linked to his or her quality of birth or ancestry.[84] Now for the first time

82 On developments in the hellenistic *gene* see Blok-Lambert 2009, on the post-166 renaissance my Foreword to Aleshire-Lambert 2011. An example of it is the revival of Eleusinian rites referred to in the decree of the Eumolpidai (?) honouring the hierophant, c. 149/8, *Agora* 16.306 = *I Eleus.* 233 (see next note), from which it is apparent that, in some respects at least, it was given effect by a "decree of Philonautes and other decrees of the People" (ll. 12–13). It is unclear, however, how far those decrees dealt with matters beyond the "entry sacrifices" (*eisagogeia*) by the hierophant that are the subject of the decree at this point. The renaissance also entailed historical and archival research, also evidenced by this decree, and was informed by the emergence of an antiquarian literature on the *gene* (*FGrH* 344 Drakon and 345 Meliton).

83 Blok-Lambert 2009: 118 no. 16.

84 Since this is the only state decree in our corpus honouring an Eleusinian priest, one should also bring into the picture the decrees of the deme Eleusis and the Eleusinian *gene* honouring the hierophant (listed below, note 93). None of these dwell on the *eugeneia* of the honorands. However, *I Eleus.* 233, a decree of the Eumolpidai (?) honouring the hierophant c. 149/8 (archon Lysiades), displays the same concern with documentary research and reviving discontinued rites that is apparent also in no. 28 (ἀνενεώσατό τε τῆ[ν ἀναγρα]φ[ὴ]ν τὴν τοῦ [-6-10-] | ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων γρα[μματε]ί̣ων [τῶ]ν ἐν τ[ῶι Ἐλευσινί]ωι, ll. 8–10; ἐκλελειμμένων [δὲ πολλῶν θυσιῶν | δί' ἐτ]ῶν [π]λειόνων διὰ τοὺς καιρ[οὺς ἐν ἑκάστωι | τῶι ἐνια]υ̣τῶι ἔθυσέν τε αὐτός, ll. 17–19).

we see the priest being socially constructed as an aristocrat. How should we explain this shift?

The link between *eugeneia* and the Athenian priesthood is not something new in itself. It had always existed, especially in connection with the *gene*. Euxitheos of Halimous, ejected from his deme at the *diapsephisis* of 346 had sought to emphasise the *eugeneia* conferred by his alleged *genos* membership as a qualification for appointment to a deme priesthood.[85] As we have already seen, towards the end of the fourth century Habron son of the orator Lykourgos had set up a *pinax* in the Erechtheion tracing the succession of priests of Poseidon Erechtheus back to Boutes, Erechtheus and the goddess Earth. Though nothing is made of this in the honorific decrees, the "democratic" priests could arguably also lay claim to *eugeneia*, by virtue of Pericles' citizenship law and the consequent appropriation by the People as a whole of the qualities of pure and ancient descent, and the mythology of autochthonous origins, which had been features of *genos* ideology.[86] What needs explaining is why there is a sudden emphasis on *eugeneia* now in an honorific decree.

Emphasis on *eugeneia* before this would undoubtedly have been contentious and divisive. Whatever the ideology of Pericles' law, there was in practice a difference between the *genos* priests and the "democratic" priests in the strength of the claim they could lay to this quality. The exercise of virtues normally praised in honorific decrees, *philotimia, eusebeia* etc., was within the control of the honorand. *Eugeneia* was an accident of birth (not all Athenians were in *gene* even in the classical period); to be praised for possessing it would implicitly have cast apsersions on the *eugeneia* of others. Such claims, however, have now ceased to be contentious. Why is this? The answer, I think, is clear enough. The period since 321, and especially since 166, had witnessed the creation of an increasingly narrow economic and political elite, as office-holding in general and priesthood in particular became limited on oligarchic principles to those who possessed adequate levels of wealth to meet the imperative for office-holders to contribute from their own resources. Gradually, and especially after 166, what had been a socio-economic elite also became an elite of birth, by means of the dynamic noted above, namely the deployment of family strategies on the one hand by *gennetai* seeking to secure the economic security of

85 [Dem.] 57.46. It is also relevant in this connection that *genos* membership was one of the *intima* of citizenship from which foreigners made Athenian citizens by decree were excluded ([Dem.] 59.104; Blok 2009a: 166–67; Blok-Lambert 2009: 104; Lambert 2010a: 148).

86 Blok 2009a and 2009b; Lambert 2008 and 2010a.

their *gene* and associated polis priesthoods by marriage and adoption with the new families that had come to wealth and prominence in consequence of the acquisition by Athens, thanks to the Roman senate, of control over the wealthy commercial centre of Delos; on the other by these new-wealthy families seeking to endow themselves with qualities of *eugeneia,* and access to the dignity of ancient priesthood that it entailed, by obtaining *genos* membership through marriage and adoption into *genos* families.[87] This process culminated in a reform of the *gene* and the Athenian citizenship in the Augustan period, in which, if Sara Aleshire is right, the honorand of this decree, Themistokles the dadouch, played a leading role.[88] Apart from this decree, Aleshire points to several other indications that, at this time, the Athenian citizenship was reformed so that all citizens were now in *gene*.[89] This had never been the case in historical times, but the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (F3) tells us that it was so right at the beginning of history, in the heroic and mythical time. This was, therefore, an archaising reform, an attempt to recreate Athens in its pristine original state, and one which, if my analysis is correct,[90] was also intended to create a system which the Romans in general, and Augustus in particular, would recognise and applaud, for the Romans too were organised in "gentes" and laid emphasis on birth and wealth as criteria of access to office. At the same time, the "democratic" priesthoods, appointed from all citizens and held for one year only, were transformed into priesthoods held for life[91] – now appointed from citizens who were all in *gene*, redu-

87 On this see my Foreword to Aleshire-Lambert 2011. The process was made easier by the fact that *genos* membership was transmissible in the female line, through *epikleroi* (Blok-Lambert 2009).

88 Aleshire in Aleshire-Lambert 2011.

89 Key items of evidence for the reform cited by Aleshire are: (a) the reorganisation of the Eteoboutad priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus attributed to this same Themistokles by [Plut.] *X Orat.* 843c (which also traces the ancestry of his wife, Nikostrate, back to the Eteoboutad Lykourgos, by means of a long genealogy similar to the one in this decree); (b) *IG* II² 2338, of 18/17 BC, a list of the *genos* Amynandridai arranged by tribe, with roughly equal members in each tribe; (c) the statement of Philostratos *Vit. Soph.* 2.3 (p. 57 Kayser), that Claudius Attikos frequently entertained the Athenians by tribes and *gene* (late first, early second century AD); (d) *IG* II² 1077.29 = *Agora* 15.460, a decree of the Areiopagos, *Boule* and *Demos* celebrating the accession of Geta in AD 209/210, and requiring that the Athenians sacrifice *pangenei.*

90 See my Afterword to Aleshire-Lambert 2011.

91 Aleshire in Aleshire-Lambert 2011: 563. Change to life-tenure for priest of Asklepios between 26/5 and 9/8: Aleshire 1989: 85–88; priest of Kalliste: Oliver 1941: 242–3 no. 42. Annual tenure of priests of Apollo on Delos changed to life-priesthood appointed from the *genos* Erysichthonidai: Aleshire-Lambert 2011: 563 n. 74; Parker 1996: 289–90; Lambert 2010a: 161.

cing, or perhaps even eliminating altogether, the difference that had existed since the fifth century between the *genos* priests and the "democratic" ones. Aleshire does not press the point, but this limiting of citizenship to *gennetai* surely entailed not a broadening of access to the *gene*, but a restricting of citizenship to those who could demonstrate *genos* membership. This gives us the explanation we are seeking as to why *eugeneia* could now safely be emphasised, for it was something that, by virtue of their *genos* membership, all citizens were now to possess. And it also explains why such an emphasis was appropriate at precisely this moment, for it had now become essential to establish and demonstrate *eugeneia* if one were to be accepted not only as qualified for Athenian citizenship but also as eligible for its associated priesthoods.

7. Appendix

7.1 Inscribed Athenian Decrees Honouring Priests and Priestesses BC

This corpus includes all the inscribed decrees of the Athenian Council and People honouring polis priests and priestesses before the Christian era known to me.[92] To keep the scope of the paper within manageable bounds I have not included decrees of other bodies, such as tribes, demes and *gene*, though in some cases the priests honoured in such decrees were polis priests.[93] Also excluded are dedications commemorating an award of honours to priests or priestesses, but on which there is no inscribed decree.[94]

---

92 On the definition of "polis priest" see Lambert 2010a: 144–47. The latest published texts are used (with minor adjustments), except for inscriptions from before 321, where the texts are those planned for inclusion in fascicule 2 of *IG* II³ Part 1. Translations are my own throughout.

93 Most notable in this category are the decrees of the Eleusinian *gene* and the deme Eleusis honouring the hierophant (appointed from the *genos* Eumolpidai): *IG* II² 1188 = *I Eleus.* 72, deme Eleusis c. 350; *IG* II² 1235 = *I Eleus.* 201, Eumolpidai and Kerykes c. 229/8–203; *IG* II² 1045 = *I Eleus.* 234, Eumolpidai (?), 169/8–135/4; *Agora* 16.306 = *I Eleus.* 233, Eumolpidai (?), c. 149/8. In some cases it is uncertain whether the priest honoured was a polis priest, e.g. *IG* II² 1140 (tribe Pandionis honouring priest of Pandion, 386/5, cf. Lambert 2010a: 150), Rhodes-Osborne 2007: no. 46 (deme Halai Aixonides honouring the priest of Apollo Zoster, c. 360, cf. Lambert 2010a: 164–66).

94 These are especially numerous in the hellenistic period for the two major Eleusinian priesthoods (and are referred to at no. 28, 58–60). The reliefs (a) Lawton 1995: no. 91, first quarter of the fourth century BC, commemorating honours for an Eteoboutad priestess of Athena Polias (perhaps the well-known Lysimache, Blok-Lambert 2009:

1. C. 340–330 (338/7?).
Priests of Dionysos, Zeus Soter, Ammon, Poseidon Pelagios [all in Piraeus?], and *hieropoioi*. Theatre of Dionysos in Athens.
IG II² 410. Lambert 2003. Text as provisionally for *IG* II³.

- -
[. . . . . .[33]. . . . . .]ΚΤΟΣΚ[. . . .[7]. . .] stoich. 45
[- - - - εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν - - - - ὁ ἱερεὺ]ς τοῦ Διο[νύσ]ο[υ . .]
[. . . . . .[19]. . . . . καὶ οἱ ἱεροποι]οὶ οἱ αἱρε[θ]έντε[ς]
[ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔ]θυον τῶι Διονύσωι καὶ
[τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς προ]σῆκε θύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς κα-
[ὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναί]ων· ἀγαθῆι τύχηι ἐψηφίσθαι τῆι βο-
[λῆι τοὺς προέδρου]ς οἳ ἂν λάχω[σ]ι προεδρεύειν ἐν τῶι δήμ-
[ωι εἰς τὴν] πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν προσαγαγεῖν τὸν ἱερέα καὶ
[τ]οὺς ἱεροποιοὺς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ ὧν
λέγουσιν, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ-
[μ]ον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλῆι, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὸν δῆμο-
ν, ἃ ἀπαγγέλλουσι ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ γεγονέναι ἐ-
ν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυον τῶι Διονύ[σ]ωι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θε-
οῖς ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ
Ἀθηναίων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτ-
ων τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διονύσου Με-
ιξιγένην Χολλείδην καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Πελαγί-
ου Ἱμεραῖον Φαληρέα καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος Νικοκ-
λέα Ἀγνούσιον καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος Παυσιάδην Φαληρέια
φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆ-
ς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι [ἕκ]αστον αὐτῶν χρυσῶι
στεφάνωι ἀπὸ :Ƿ: δραχμῶν, ἐπειδὰν τ[ὰς] εὐ[θ]ύνας δ[ῶ]σ[ι]· ἐπε-
ιδὴ δὲ οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ αἱρεθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καλῶς
καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελήθησαν τ[ῆ]ς π̣ρ̣ο̣σ[τάσ]ε̣ως τῶν ἱερέ-
ων καὶ τῶν θυσίων [- - - - - *vestigia 20 litt.* - - - - -] τ̣ῶ̣ν ἡρ[ώ]ων καὶ
τἆλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν Ι[- - - - - - *vestigia 22 litt.* - - - - -]ΙΛ[.] ἐπιμε-
μέληνται δικαίως καὶ φι[λ]οτ[ίμ]ως, [ἐπαι]νέ[σ]αι τοὺς ἱεροπ-
οιοὺς Εὔνομον Εὐωνυμέα, [Σ]υ[β]α[ρ]ίτην [Γ]αρ[γήττι]ον, Γνωσία-
ν Κυδαθηναιέα, Φιλέαν Παιονίδην, [Χα]ι[ρεφάνην Σφήτ]τιον,

---

105 no. 1), and (b) Lawton 1995: no. 164, probably Lykourgan (c. 338–325), and commemorating honours for a priestess of Athena Nike (a "democratic" priestess, Lambert 2010a: 153–56, cf. 2010b: 232–33 no. 35), have been thought to be from the top of decrees of the People honouring these priestesses, but (a) may be from a decree of another body, and both may be dedications by the priestess or her family rather than from decrees erected by the city. Cf. Lambert 2007a: 130.

Ἀπολλόδωρον Πτελεάσιον, [Α]ὐτο[σθ]ένην [Ξυπεταιόν]α, Ἀμίαντον Αὐρίδην, Ἐπικράτην Ἀφιδναῖ[ο]ν, Φιλ[όστρατ]ον Παλληνέα, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐπιμελεία[ς] τῆς περὶ τὰ ἱερ[ὰ] καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ :𐅵 δραχμῶν, ἐ[π]ειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶσ[ι]· δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ [ε]ἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀνάθημα : [. : δρ]αχμὰς τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμο [ἐ]κ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δήμωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ [σ]τῆσαι ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι τοῦ Διονύσου [[τ. . .]] [[Μ . . . .7. . .]]· εἰ[ς] δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου :ΔΔΔ[.]: δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα [ἀ]ναλισκομένων τῶι δήμωι.

Nomina decem hieropoiorum in coronis

39–40 τοῦ ἐ|μ Πειραεῖ originally inscribed and subsequently erased (Lambert).

… proposed: concerning the report by the priest of Dionysos [… and the officiants (*hieropoioi*)] appointed by the Council about the sacrifices they made to Dionysos and (5) to the other gods to whom it was appropriate to sacrifice on behalf of the Athenian Council and People, for good fortune, the Council shall resolve: the *proedroi* allotted to preside in the next Assembly of the People shall present the priest and the *hieropoioi* to the People and put their report on the (10) agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People, that it seems good to the Council, that the People should accept the good things which the priest and the *hieropoioi* report took place in the sacrifices which they made to Dionysos and to the other gods for the health and preservation of the Athenian Council and People (15) and of the children and women and other possessions of the Athenians; and to praise the priest of Dionysos, Meixigenes of Cholleidai, and of Poseidon Pelagios, Himeraios of Phaleron, and of Zeus Soter, Nikokles of Hagnous, and of Ammon, Pausiades of Phaleron, for their honour-loving behaviour towards the Council and their piety towards the gods, and crown each of them with a gold crown of 500 drachmas when they have rendered their accounts; and since the *hieropoioi* chosen by the Council managed well and with love of honour the supply of requirements for the rites (25) and … of the sacrifices … of the heroes and in other respects … have managed the … justly and in an honour-loving way, to praise the *hieropoioi* (*10 names follow)* for their excellence and justice towards the Athenian Council and People and their management of the rites, and

crown each of them with a gold crown of 500 (35) drachmas, when they have rendered their accounts; and the treasurer of the People shall give them [50 or 100] drachmas for a sacrifice and dedication from the People's fund for expenditure on decrees; and the secretary of the Council shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the theatre of Dionysos (*erased text:* [in (40) Piraeus]?); and the treasurer of the People shall give 40 drachmas for inscribing the stele from the People's fund for expenditure on decrees.
Ten inscribed crowns, the name of a hieropoios within each.

Lambert 2003 suggested that the context of this decree was anxiety about the "health and preservation" of the city in the light of a perceived threat of invasion of Attica by Philip II of Macedon in the aftermath of the battle of Chaironeia, which led to attention being directed to the Piraeus as a safe haven. Cf. Lambert 2004: 105 no. 10.

2. C. 340–320?.
Agora (modern context).
M. B. Walbank, *Hesp. Suppl.* 38 (2008), 23–24 no. 21. Text as provisionally for *IG* II³.

	– –	
c. 340-320?	[. . . .] ὅτι δο[κεῖ τῆι βουλῆι – – τὰ μὲν?]	stoich.
	[ἀγαθὰ?] δέχε[σθαι – – – – – – ἀπαγγ?]-	
	[έ]λ[λει] γ̣ε̣γο[νέναι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ? – –]	
	[.]Ο̣Λ̣– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –	
5	[.]Τ̣Ο̣– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –	
	[.]Λ̣– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –	
	– –	

… that the Council has decided to accept [the good things which … report] took place [in the sacrifices] …

3. 328/7.
Priest of Asklepios. Asklepieion in Athens.
IG II² 354. Lambert 2004: 106 no. 11. Text as provisionally for *IG* II³.

		[θε]οί.	
328/7	*II*	[ἐπ' Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρ]χοντος, ἱερείως δὲ Ἀνδρο-	stoich. 34
		[κλέους ἐκ Κεραμ]έων· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγ-	
		[δόης πρυτανεία]ς, ἧι Πυθόδηλος Πυθοδήλου	
5		[Ἀγνούσιος ἐγρα]μμάτευεν· ἔνηι καὶ νέαι· ἐ-	

[κτηι καὶ εἰκοστ]ῆι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησ-
[ία· τῶν προέδρων] ἐπεψήφισεν Ἐπιγένης Ἐρο-
[ιάδης· ἔδοξεν τῶ]ι δήμωι· Προκλείδης Παντα-
[. . . .7. . . ἐκ Κερα]μέων εἶπεν· ἀγαθῆι τύχηι :
[δεδόχθαι τῶι δή]μωι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι
[ἃ ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἱ]ερεὺς γεγονέναι ἐκ τῶν ἱε-
[ρῶν τῶν τυθέντ]ων, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀνδροκλῆς ἱερ-
[εὺς λαχὼ]ν τ[ῶι Ἀσ]κληπιῶι ἐπιμελεῖται το[ῦ]
τε ἱεροῦ καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων ὧν αὐτῶι οἱ νόμοι πρ-
οστάττουσιν κα[λ]ῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ οἱ λαχ-
όντες ἐπιμελητ[α]ὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς περ[ὶ]
τὸ θέατρον ἀπέφη[να]ν αὐτὸν ἐν τῶι δήμω[ι χρ]-
ήσιμον γεγονέναι [αὐτ]οῖς περὶ τὴν ἐπ[ιμέλ]-
ειαν τοῦ θεάτρου, ἐπαιν[έ]σ[α]ι Ἀνδροκ[λέα Κλ]-
εινίου ἐκ Κεραμέων τὸν ἱερ[έ]α τοῦ Ἀ[σκληπι]-
οῦ καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτόν, ἐπ[ειδ]ὰν τ[ὰς εὐθύ]-
νας δῶι, χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ : Χ : [δραχμῶν ἀ]-
ρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης κα[ὶ δοῦναι *ν*]
αὐτῶι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου : ΔΔΔ [: δραχμὰς]
εἰς θυσίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσ[ματα ἀν]-
αλισκομένων τῶι δήμωι· τὸν δὲ γραμ[ματέα]
τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἀναγράψαι τόδ[ε τὸ ψή]-
φισμα ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐ[ν τῶι]
ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρ[αφὴν]
τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμ[ου : Δ]
[Δ]Δ : δραχμὰς ὅθεν οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι[ν *vvv*].

vacat 0.015

I Εὐετίων Αὐτοκλείδου Σφήττιος εἶπε[ν· περὶ]
[ὧ]ν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄστε[ι λέγ]-
[ε]ι περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔθυεν τῶι Ἀσκληπ[ιῶι *ν*]
[κα]ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ· [ἀγαθ]-
[ῆι] τ[ύχηι ἐψηφί]σθαι [τῆ]ι βουλῆι τοὺς [προέδ]-
[ρους οἳ ἂν λάχωσι π]ρ[οε]δρεύειν ἐν τῶ[ι δήμωι]
[εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησί]αν προσαγαγ[εῖν τὸ]-
[ν ἱερέα εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ] χρηματίσα[ι αὐτῶι]
[ἐν ἱεροῖς, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβά]λλεσθαι τ[ῆς βου]-
[λῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ] τῆι βουλ[ῆι τὰ μ]-
[ὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὸν δῆμο]ν ἃ ἀπαγγ[έλλει]
[ὁ ἱερεὺς γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς] ἱεροῖς ἐ[φ' ὑγιεί]-
[αι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς κ]αὶ τοῦ [δήμου .]
- -

Assembly decree
Gods. In the archonship of Euthykritos, in the priesthood of Androkles of Kerameis. In the eighth prytany, of Antiochis, for which Pythodelos son of Pythodelos (5) of Hagnous was secretary. On the last day (*sc.* of the month), the twenty-sixth of the prytany. Assembly. Of the presiding committee, Epigenes of Eroiadai put to the vote. It was decided by the People. Prokleides son of Panta- of Kerameis proposed: for good fortune, (10) the People shall decide to accept the good things which the priest reports about the outcome of the sacrifices that have been performed; and since Androkles, allotted priest of Asklepios, is managing both the sanctuary and the other things which the laws (15) require of him well and piously, and the allotted managers (*epimeletai*) of good order at the theatre declared before the People that he had been helpful to them in connection with the management of the theatre, to praise Androkles (20) son of Kleinias of Kerameis, priest of Asklepios, and crown him, when he has rendered his accounts, with a gold crown of 1,000 drachmas for his excellence and justice; and the treasurer of the People shall give him 30 drachmas for (25) a sacrifice from the People's fund for expenditure on decrees; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the sanctuary of Asklepios; and the treasurer of the People shall give for inscribing (30) the stele 30 drachmas from whatever source the laws ordain.

Probouleuma
Euetion son of Autokleides of Sphettos proposed: concerning the statement which the priest of Asklepios in the city makes about the rites he has performed for Asklepios (35) and the other gods with him, for good fortune, the Council shall resolve that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the next Assembly of the People shall introduce the priest to the People and put (40) this matter on the agenda under the religious business and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council to accept the good things which the priest reports about the outcome of the sacrifices for the health and preservation of the Council and People …

4. 326/5.
Priest (of Asklepios, or possibly Dionysos). Area of theatre of Dionysos/Asklepieion in Athens.
SEG 35.74. Lambert 2004: 106 no. 12. Text as provisionally for *IG* II^3.

	[ἱ]ερεῖ γενομέ[νωι - - max. c. 15 - -]	*in cymatio*
	θεοί· *vac.*	stoich. 25
326/5	ἐπὶ Χρέμητ[ος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς]	

[Παν]διονίδ[ος ....ης πρυτανεί]-
[ας ἦ]ι Κηφι[σοκλῆς .....[11].....]
[- - - ἐγραμμάτευεν - - - - - - - - -]

To [*name*], having become (*or* been) priest. Gods. In the archonship of Chremes (326/5), in the ... prytany, of Pandionis, for which Kephisokles ... was secretary ...

5. 273/2.
Priest of Amphiaraos. Agora.
SEG 32.110. *Bull. ép.* 1982, 138. *Agora* 16.255C.

θεοί·
273/2 ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνηίδος δεκάτης πρυτα-
non-stoich. 45–50
νείας, ἧι Εὐθοῖνος Εὐθυκρίτου Μυρρινούσιος ἐγραμμά-
τευεν, Μουνιχιῶνος δεκάτει ὑστέραι, ἐνάτει καὶ εἰκοστεῖ
τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Ἱερ[ο]-
κλῆς Κλεινομάχου Παιανιεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ
βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Καλλίμαχος Ἱέρωνος Θοραιεὺς εἶπεν·
[περὶ] ὧν ἀπανγέλλει ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερ-
[ῶν ὧν ἔθυε] τῶι τε Ἀμφιαράωι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οἷς [πάτρι-
ο]ν ἦ[ν],
[ἀγαθῆι τύχε]ι, δεδόχθαι τ̣ε̣ῖ̣ β[ουλ]ε[ῖ], τοὺς προέδρους οἵτ[ινες
ἂν]
[λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῶι δήμωι εἰς τὴν πρώτη]ν̣ ἐ̣[κκλησίαν -
- -]

Gods. In the archonship of Glaukippos (273/2), in the tenth prytany, of Oeneis, for which Euthoinos son of Euthykritos of Myrrhinous was secretary, on the twenty-first of Mounichion, the twenty-ninth (5) of the prytany. Assembly. Of the *proedroi* Hierokles son of Kleinomachos of Paiania was putting to the vote and the *symproedroi*. It was decided by the Council and the People. Kallimachos son of Hieron of Thorai proposed. Concerning the report of the priest of Amphiaraos about the sacrifices that he made to Amphiaraos and the other gods, for whom it was traditional, (10) for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the next Assembly ...

In the classical period the cult of Amphiaraos in Attica was associated with the Amphiaraion in Oropos, but by this time there was perhaps a cult-site of Amphiaraos (together with Hygieia?) in the Agora area, cf. IG II² 171 +

Lambert 2007a: 128–9; Parker 1996: 148 n. 105. Athens did not control Oropos at this period (Habicht 1997: 129) and what, if any, connection there was between this priest and the Amphiaraion in Oropos is obscure.

6. 272/1?.
Priest of Zeus Soter Agora (Stoa of Zeus)
IG II² 689 + A. P. Matthaiou, *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98), 29–48; J. D. Morgan, *ibid.* 49–51. Tracy 2003: 77 ("Cutter of *IG* II² 689", 305/4–c. 270).

272/1? [ἐπὶ Λυσιθε?]ίδο[υ ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - - - - - - - - -]- stoich. 38
[τ]ης πρ[υ]τ̣α̣[ν]είας, ε[ἶ]ν Σιμωνίδης Τιμησίου Σουνιε]-
[ὺς ἐγραμμά]τευεν· [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
δεκά⟨τει⟩ τῆς πρυτανε̣ί[ας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδ]-
ρων ἐπεψήφισζεν Τ[. . . . . [23] . . . . .]
ς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔ[δοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δή]-
μωι· Προμένης Προμέ̣[νου . . . . .[9]. . . . εἶπεν· περὶ ὧ]-
ν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἱερε[ὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὑπὲ]-
ρ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὧν ἔθυε ἐ̣[φ' ὑγιείαι τῆς βουλῆ]ς τ[ῶι Δι]-
ὶ τῶι Σωτῆ[ρ]ι καὶ τεῖ [Ἀθηνᾶι τεῖ Σωτε]ίραι, ἀγα[θε]-
ι τύχει, δεδόχθαι τ[εῖ βουλεῖ, τοὺς π]ροέδρους οἵ-
τινες ἂν λάχωσιν π[ροεδρεύειν ἐν τ]ῶι δήμωι εἰς
τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησ[ίαν προσαγαγεῖ]ν τὸν ἱερέα τ-
οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρο[ς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον] ἐν ἱεροῖς κα-
[ὶ χ]ρ̣η̣[ματί]σαι, γνώμ̣[ην δὲ συμβάλλεσ]θαι τῆς βουλ-
[ῆς εἰς τὸν] δῆμον, ὅ̣[τι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλ]εῖ, τὰ μὲν ἀγα-
[θὰ δέχεσθ]αι τὴ[ν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμ]ον ἃ ἀπαγγέλ-
[λει ὁ ἱερεὺς γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἱερ]οῖς οἷς ἔθυε-
[ν ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλ]ῆς καὶ τοῦ δή-
[μου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἔθυσεν τὰ εἰ]σιτητήρια ἐ-
[πὶ τεῖ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ] δήμου καλῶς
[καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέ]α τοῦ Διὸς το-
[ῦ Σωτῆρος . . . . . [14] . . . . . ἐκ Κερ]αμέων καὶ στε-
[φανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ε]ὐσεβείας ἕνε-
[κεν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτι]μίας τῆς εἰς τ-
[ὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγράψ]αι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή-
[φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ π]ρυτανείαν ἐν στ-
[ήλει λιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι πρὸς τ]εῖ στοᾶ[ι] τοῦ Διό-
[ς, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ]ης μερί[σαι το]ὺ[ς]
[ἐπὶ τῆι διοικήσει : Δ : δραχμάς].

In the archonship of Lysitheides, in the … prytany, of …, for which Simonides son of Timesias of Sounion was secretary … on the … of the

prytany. Principal Assembly. Of the *proedroi* (5) T… was putting to the vote and the *symproedroi*. It was decided by the Council and the People. Promenes son of Promenes of … proposed: concerning the report of the priest of Zeus Soter about the sacrifices which he performed for the health of the Council to Zeus (10) Soter and Athena Soteira, for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the next Assembly shall introduce the priest of Zeus Soter to the People in the sacred business and place (15) the matter on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People, that it seems good to the Council that the Council and the People should accept the good things which the priest reports about what transpired at the sacrifices which he made for the health and preservation of the Council and People; (20) and since the priest sacrificed the entry-sacrifices (*eisiteteria*) for the preservation of the Council and the People well and with love of honour, to praise the priest of Zeus Soter … of Kerameis and crown him with a foliage crown for his piety (25) towards the gods and his love of honour with respect to the Council and People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it by the stoa of Zeus, and those (30) in charge of the financial administration shall allocate 10 drachmas for the inscribing of the stele.

This man was perhaps priest in the major Attic cult of Zeus Soter, which was in the Piraeus (see Lambert 2010a: 171). Either there was a separate celebration of the Diisoteria in the city at this period, when the Piraeus was separated politically from the city, or the procession to the Piraeus at the festival may have started at the stoa of Zeus in the Agora (cf. Parker 2005: 467). Cf. no. 7 and no. 20.

7. C. 270.
Priest of Zeus Soter. Agora (Stoa of Zeus).
IG II² 690. *SEG* 29.103. Tracy 2003: 77 ("Cutter of *IG* II² 689", 305/4–c. 270).

- -
[……..[15]……. ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς β- stoich. 39
[ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλω]ν ὅσοι ε[ὔ]νους εἰ-
[σὶν τῶι δήμωι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς] ἔθυσεν τὰ εἰσιτ-
[ητήρια . . . .[8]. . . . τῶι Διὶ] τ[ῶι] Σωτῆρι καὶ τῆι Ἀθην-
5 [ᾶι τεῖ Σωτείραι εὐσεβῶς] ἐ[κ τῶν ἰ]δίων, ἐπαινέσαι
[τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σ]ωτ[ῆρος] Σμῖκρον Φιλίνου
[. . . . .[9]. . . . καὶ στεφαν]ῶσαι θ[α]λλοῦ στεφάνωι εὐσ-
[εβείας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τ]οὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας

[τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ] τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τό-
[δε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ]ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεία-
[ν ἐν στήλῃι λι]θίνε[ι κα]ὶ στῆσαι πρὸς τεῖ στοᾶι τε-
[ῖ τοῦ Διός, εἰ]ς δὲ τὴ[ν ἀν]αγραφὴν τῆς στήλης μερίσ-
[αι τοὺς ἐπὶ] τεῖ διοι[κή]σει τὸ διατεταγμένον.
in corona: ἡ βουλή *in corona:* ὁ δῆμος

… for the health and preservation of the Council and People and of others who are well disposed towards the People; and since the priest sacrificed the entry-sacrifices (*eisiteteria)* … to Zeus Soter and Athena (5) Soteira piously from his own resources, to praise the priest of Zeus Soter, Smikros son of Philinos of -, and crown him with a foliage crown for his piety towards the gods and his love of honour with respect to the Council and People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe (10) this decree on a stone stele and stand it by the stoa of Zeus; and those in charge of the financial administration shall allocate the authorised amount for the inscription.

Cf. note on no. 6.

8. 250/49? (archon Polyeuktos).
Priestess of Aglauros. Aglaurion.
SEG 33.115. Year: Tracy 2003: 166.

250/49? ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθη- stoich. 33
ίδος δευτέρας πρυτανείας ἧι Χαιρεφῶν Ἀ-
ρχεστράτου Κεφαλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν, Με-
ταγειτνιῶνος ἑνδεκάτει *ν* ἑνδεκάτει τῆ-
ς πρυτανείας *ν* ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδ[ρ]-
ων ἐπεψήφιζεν *ν* Κλείδημος Φρύνωνος Φλ[υ]-
εὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· *ν* ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆ[ι]
καὶ τῶι δήμωι *ν* Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφάν[ο]-
υ Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν· *ν* ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀ-
ριστοφάνης ὁ υὸς τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Ἀγλαύρ-
ου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔθυεν τοῖς εἰσιτητη-
ρίοις τῆι Ἀγλαύρωι καὶ τῶι Ἄρει καὶ τῶι Ἡλί-
ωι καὶ ταῖς Ὥραις καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ το-
ῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν *ν* ἀγαθεῖ τ-
ύχει, δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι τοὺς προέδρου-
ς οἵτιν<ε>ς ἂν προεδρεύωσιν εἰς τὴν πρώτη-
ν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων ἐν ἱε-

ροῖς, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς
εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλῆι *ν* τὰ μὲ-
ν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμο-
ν τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐφ' ὑγιείαι κ-
αὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ
Ἀθηναίων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὑπ-
ὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Φίλας τῆς
βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτῶν *ν* ἐπει-
δὴ δὲ ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τά τε εἰσαγώγ-
εια καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἔθυσε τὰς προσηκούσα-
ς, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας τῆς ἐν τῆ-
ι παννυχίδι, ἐκόσμησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τράπεζα-
ν, ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἀγλαύρου *νν*
Τιμοκρίτην Πολυνίκου Ἀφιδναίου θυγατ-
έρα καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὴν θαλλοῦ στεφάν-
ωι εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεούς· ἀ-
ναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸ-
ν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ
στῆσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀγλαύρου, εἰς δὲ τ-
ὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπ-
ὶ τῆι διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα.

ἡ βουλή
ὁ δῆμος
τὴν ἱέρειαν
Τιμοκρίτην.

In the archonship of Polyeuktos, in the second prytany, of Erechtheis, for which Chairephon son of Archestratos of Kephale was secretary, on the eleventh of Metageitnion, the eleventh (5) of the prytany. Principal Assembly. Of the *proedroi* Kleidemos son of Phrynon of Phlya was putting to the vote, and the *symproedroi.* It was decided by the Council and People. Demostratos son of Aristophanes of Paiania proposed: concerning the report that (10) Aristophanes the son of the priestess of Aglauros makes about the sacrifices she has made, at the entry-sacrifices (*eisiteteria*), to Aglauros and Ares and Helios and the Horai and Apollo and the other gods for whom it was traditional, for good (15) fortune, the Council shall decide that the *proedroi* who preside at the next Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda in the sacred business, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council, that the Council and People should accept (20) the good things which occurred at the sacrifices for the health and preservation of the Athenian Council and People and the children and

the women, and on behalf of king Antigonos and Phila (25) the queen, and their descendants; and since the priestess of Aglauros sacrificed the introductory rites (*eisagogeia*) and the appropriate sacrifices, and supervised the good order of the all-night revel, and adorned the table, (30) to praise the priestess of Aglauros, Timokrite daughter of Polynikos of Aphidna, and crown her with a foliage crown for her piety towards the gods; and the (35) prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the temple of Aglauros; and those in charge of the financial administration shall allocate for the inscribing of the stele the expense accrued.

9. C. 240 (archon Lysiades).
Priest of Asklepios. Asklepieion at Athens.
IG II² 775 + 803 (*SEG* 18.19); *SEG* 35.91 (year of decree I). Tracy 2003: 102–103 ("Cutter of Ag. I 6664", c. 281/0–c. 240).

c. 240 *I* [ἐπὶ Λυσιάδου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς - - - - - - - - - - - -]
non-stoich. 38-56
[- - - - - - - - πρυτανείας ἧι Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο- -]
[- - - - - - - - ἐ]γρα[μμάτευεν· . . . . . .c.16. . . . . .]
[. . . . .c.9. . . .]ι τῆς π[ρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέ]-
5 [δρων ἐπεψ]ήφιζεν [. . . . . .c.23. . . . . .]
[. .c.4. .] κ[α]ὶ συμπρόεδ[ροι· ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δή]-
[μωι]· Κραναὸς Κτησιφ[ῶντος Βησαιεὺς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν ἀ]-
[παγ]γέλλει ὁ ἱερεὺς τ[οῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν]
[ὧν] ἔθυεν τῶι Ἀσκληπι[ῶι τῶι ἐν ἄστει καὶ τῆι Ὑγιείαι]
10 [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖ[ς οἷς πάτριον ἦν· ἀγαθῆι τύχει]
[δ]εδόχθαι τῆι βουλεῖ το[ὺς προέδρους οἵτινες ἂν λά]-
χωσιν προεδρεύ<ε>ιν ἐν [τῶι δήμωι εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκ]-
κλησίαν χρηματίσαι π[ερὶ τούτων ἐν ἱεροῖς, γνώμην]
δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βου[λῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ]
15 τῆι βουλεῖ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ [δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν]
τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐφ' ὑγιείαι κα[ὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ]
τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γ[υναικῶν [[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως]]]
[[Ἀντιγόνου καὶ … … . .c.15 .....[- -]]· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς]
περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενος [τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέ]-
20 βειαν τήν τε θυσίαν ἔθυσεν κ[. . . . . .c.19. . . . . .]
τῶι θεῶι καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκό[σμησεν καλῶς καὶ φιλοτί]-
μως καὶ τὴν παννυχίδα ἐποιή[σατο ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπαι]-
νέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπι[οῦ . . . . . .c.15. . . . . Ξυ]-
πεταιόνα εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τ[ῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φι]-
25 λοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν [καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναί]-

ων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν]
κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίν̣[ει καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι Ἀ]-
σκλ[η]πιείωι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴ̣[ν καὶ τὴν στήλην μερί]-
σαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι δι[ο]ι̣κ̣ήσ̣ει τὸ γενό[μενον ἀνάλωμα. *vvvv*]

vacat

c. 240 *I* ἐπὶ Λυσιάδου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐ[ρεχθεΐδος δεκάτης]
πρυτανείας ἧι Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο[. . . . . [c.15] . . . . . ἐ]-
γραμμάτευεν· Μουνιχιῶνος ἐνάτει ἐπ[ὶ δέκα, ἑβδόμει καὶ εἰκο]-
στεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τ[ῶν προέδρων ἐπ-
εψήφι]-
ζεν [Ε]ὐχάριστος Χάρητος Ἀφιδναῖος κα[ὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδο-
ξεν]
τῆι [β]ουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Κραναὸς Κτησιφ[ῶντος Βησαιεὺς
εἶ̣πεν]·
περὶ ὧ̣ν ἀπαγ[γ]έ[λ]λει ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπ[ιοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς
θυσίας ἧ̣ς ἔθυ]-
[σεν] τῶι Ἀσκ[λ]ηπιῶι καὶ τῆι [Ὑ]γιείαι καὶ τ[οῖς ἄλλοις θε-
οῖς οἷ̣ς πάτριον]
[ἦ̣ν· ἀγαθῆ]ι̣ τύχει δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλ[εῖ τοὺς προέδρους οἵ-
τινες ἂν]
[λάχωσι]ν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῶι δή[μωι εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλη-
σίαν χρη]-
[ματίσαι π]ερὶ τούτων ἐ[ν ἱεροῖς, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς
βου]-
[λῆς -]

lacuna versuum nonnullorum

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Decree I

In the archonship of Lysiades, in the ... prytany, of ..., for which Aristomachos son of Aristo- of ... was secretary ... on the ... of the prytany. Assembly. Of the *proedroi* ... (5) was putting to the vote and the *symproedroi*. It was decided by the Council and the People. Kranaos son of Ktesiphon of Besa proposed. Concerning the report which the priest of Asklepios makes about the sacrifices that he made to Asklepios in the city, and to Hygieia (10) and to the other gods for whom it was traditional, for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside in the People at the next Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda in the sacred business, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good (15) to the Council to accept the good things that occurred in the rites for the health and preservation of the Council and People and the children and women, [and king Antigonos and ... *text later erased*]; and since the priest rates highly (20) piety towards the gods and made the sacrifice ... to the god and adorned the table well and with love of honour and conducted the all-night revel worthily of the god, to praise the priest of Asklepios ... of Xypete for his piety towards the gods and his (25) love of honour with respect to the Athenian Council and People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the Asklepieion; and the officer in charge of the financial administration shall allocate for the inscribing and the stele the expense accrued.

Decree II

(30) In the archonship of Lysiades, in the tenth prytany, of Erechtheis, for which Aristomachos son of Aristo- of ... was secretary. On the nineteenth of Mounichion, on the twenty-seventh of the prytany. Principal Assembly. Of the *proedroi* Eucharistos son of Chares of Aphidna was putting to the vote and the *symproedroi*. It was decided by (35) the Council and the People. Kranaos son of Ktesiphon of Besa proposed. Concerning the report which the priest of Asklepios makes about the sacrifices that he made to Asklepios, and to Hygieia and to the other gods for whom it was traditional, for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside in the People at the next Assembly (40) shall put these matters on the agenda in the sacred business, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council ... *lacuna* ... to praise the priest of Asklepios ... and crown him (45) with a foliage crown for his piety towards the gods and his love of honour with respect to the Athenian Council and People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree

on a stone stele and stand it in the Asklepieion; and the officer in charge of the financial administration shall allocate for the inscribing of the stele (50) the expense accrued. [In crowns. The Council. The People].

10. 237/6? (archon Alkibiades).
Priestess of Athena Polias. Acropolis.
IG II² 776 (with minor adjustments). Tracy 2003: 112–17 ("Cutter of *IG* II² 776", c. 255–c. 240). Year: M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 164 (2008), 85–89.

\- -
[- - - - - - - - ἀγαθῆι τύχει δεδόχθαι τῆ]ι [βουλῆι] non-stoich. 34-39
[τοὺς προέδρους οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν] προεδρεύε[ιν]
[εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρη]ματίσαι περ[ὶ]
[τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθ]αι τῆς βουλῆς
5 [εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βο]υλεῖ, τὰ μ[ὲ]ν ἀγα-
[θὰ δέχεσθαι . . . . . .c.11. . . . . γε]γονέ[να]ι ἐν τοῖς
[ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυσεν ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σ]ωτηρίαι τῆς βου-
[λῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδω]ν καὶ γυναικῶν
[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου κ]αὶ τῆς βασιλίσ⟨σ⟩ης
10 [Φίλας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν]· ἐπειδὴ δὲ [ἡ] ἱέρει-
[α τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπεμελήθη καλ]ῶς καὶ φιλοτίμ-
[ως τῆς τε κοσμήσεως τῆς τρ]απέζης κατὰ τὰ
[πάτρια καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν προσ]έτ [[τ]] αττον οἵ τ[ε]
[νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμο]υ, διατελε[ῖ]
15 [δὲ ἐν παντὶ] καιρῶι φιλο[τιμουμέ]νη περὶ [τ]-
237/6? [ὴν θε]ὸν καὶ ἐ[π' Ἀ]λκιβιάδου ἄ[ρχοντος] ἀνέθη-
[κεν] ἐκ τῶν ἰδί[ω]ν Θήραιον κα[. . . . . c.9. . . .]ιστ[. .]
[. .]ον καὶ τρίχαπτα, ἐμέρισεν [δὲ καὶ τοῖς Πραξι]-
[ερ]γίδαις εἰς τ[ὴ]ν θυσίαν τὴν π[άτριον ἐκ τῶν]
20 [ἰ]δίων ἑκατὸν [δρ]αχμάς· ὅπως ἂ[ν οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
φαίνηται τιμ[ῶν] τοὺς περὶ πλε[ίστου ποιουμένο]-
υς τὴν εἰς το[ὺς] θεοὺς εὐσέβ[ειαν, ἐπαινέσαι]
τὴν ἱέρειαν [τῆς] Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς [Πολιάδος . . . . στρά]-
την Πολυε[ύκτου] Βατῆθεν θ[υγατέρα καὶ στε]-
25 φανῶσαι θα[λλοῦ] στεφάνω[ι εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα]
τῆς εἰς τὴν [θεόν· ἐ]παινέ[σαι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτ]-
ῆς Ἀρχέστρα[τον Ε]ὐθυκρ[άτους Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν]
καὶ στεφανῶ[σαι αὐ]τὸ[ν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι]
εὐσεβείας ἕ[νεκα τ]ῆ[ς εἰς τὴν θεόν καὶ φιλοτι]-
30 μίας τῆς εἰ[ς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγρά]-
ψαι δὲ τόδε [τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κα]-
τ[ὰ] πρυ[τανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει - - - - - - - -]

IG: 6 ἃ φησιν ἡ ἱέρεια γε]γονέ[να]ι, 17 κα[ὶ, 23-24 Λυσιστρά?]ιην, 29 τ]ῆ[ς εἰς τοὺς θεούς.

… for good fortune, the Council shall decide that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly shall put the matter on the agenda, and place the opinion of the Council (5) before the People, that it seems good to the Council, to accept the good things that … took place at the sacrifices which she performed for the health and presservation of the Council and the People and the children and the women and of king Antigonos and queen (10) Phila and their descendants; and since the priestess of Athena took care well and with love of honour of the adornment of the table according to ancestral tradition and the other things which the laws and the decrees of the People required, and continues (15) at every opportunity to show love of honour with respect to the goddess, and in the archonship of Alkibiades (237/6?) dedicated from her own resources a Theran (= *a type of garment*) …. and a garment woven of hair, and contributed from her own resources a hundred drachmas to the Praxiergidai (= *genos with responsibility for statue of Athena and its garments, cf. Parker 1996: 307–8*) (20) for the ancestral sacrifice; so, therefore, that the People also may appear to honour those who rate highly piety towards the gods, to praise the priestess of Athena Polias -te daughter of Polyeuktos of Bate and (25) crown her with a foliage crown for her piety towards the goddess; and to praise her husband, Archestratos son of Euthykrates of Amphitrope, and crown him with a foliage crown for his piety towards the goddess and his (30) love of honour with respect to the Council and People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele …

11. 260–220? (later than no. 10?).
Priestess of Athena Polias. Acropolis.
IG II² 928 (with adjustments). Tracy 2003: 133, 141 ("Style of Cutter of *IG* II² 788", c. 260–220). For the working span of this cutter and the sequence of priestesses of Athena see Blok and Lambert 2009: 106 n. 78.

– –
[– – – – – – – – – εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὴν θεόν καὶ φιλοτιμί]-
non-stoich. 45–47
[ας τῆ]ς εἰς [τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή]-
[φισμ]α τὸν γ[ραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήληι λιθί]-
[ν]ει καὶ στῆσ[αι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στ]-
ήλης μερίσα[ι – – – – – – – – – – – – – τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα].
vacat 0.07

in corona:
ἡ βουλὴ
ὁ δῆμος
τὴν ἱέρει[αν]
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ[ς]
τῆς Πολιά[δος]
Πεντετηρί[δα].

… for his? [*i.e. husband of priestess?, cf. no. 10*] piety towards the goddess and honour-loving behaviour with respect to the Council and People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it on the acropolis, and the … shall allocate for the inscribing of the stele the expense accrued.
In crown: The Council. The People. The priestess of Athena Polias, Penteteris.

12. 234/3? (archon Lysanias).
Priest of Kalliste. Near Dipylon gate (sanctuary of Kalliste).
IG II² 788. Tracy 2003: 131 ("Cutter of *IG* II² 788", c. 260–220). Year: M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 164 (2008), 85–89.

234/3? ἐπὶ Λυ[σ]ανίου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνεῖδος ὀγδό-
non-stoich. 36-40
ης πρυτανείας, ἧι Εὔμηλος Ἐμπεδίωνος Εὐωνυ-
μεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ὀγδόει ἐ-
πὶ δέκα, ὀγδόηι καὶ δεκάτηι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκ-
κλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Εὐφρό-
νιος Κλεεμπόρου Αἰξωνεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· *vac.*
ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι·
Θεόφιλος Φιλοθέου Λαμπτρεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ *νν*
Ἀντίδωρος λαχὼν ἱερεὺς τῆς Καλλίστης τὸν ἐνι-
235/4? αυτὸν τὸν ἐπ' Ἐκφάντου *ν* τάς τε θυσίας πάσας ἔθυ-
σεν τὰς γινομένας ἐν τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι ὑπὲρ τῆς βου-
λῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, *ν* ἀνέθη-
κεν δὲ καὶ βωμὸν λίθινον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ἀπενήνο-
χεν δὲ καὶ λόγους περὶ πάντων ὧν ὠικονόμηκεν
ἐν τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις· *ν* ὅπως
ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνωνται χάριν
ἀποδιδόντες τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱε-
ρόν· *ν* ἀγαθεῖ τύχει, δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι τοὺς *ν*
προέδρους οἵτινες ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς
τὴ[ν] ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τού-

των, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν
δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλῆι ἐπαινέσαι Ἀντίδωρον
Ἀντιδώρου Περγασῆθεν καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ
στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον·
ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν
κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν
τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Καλλίστης· *ν* εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν *ν*
τῆς στήλης καὶ τὴν ποίησιν μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι δι-
οικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα.

in corona:	*in corona:*
ἡ βουλὴ	ὁ δῆμος
Ἀντίδωρον	Ἀντίδωρον
Περγασῆθεν	Περγασῆθεν

In the archonship of Lysanias (234/3), in the eighth prytany, of Oeneis, for which Eumelos son of Empedion of Euonymon was secretary. On the eighteenth of Anthesterion, the eighteenth of the prytany. Principal (5) Assembly. Of the *proedroi* Euphronios son of Kleemporos of Aixone was putting to the vote, and the *symproedroi.* It was decided by the Council and People. Theophilos son of Philotheos of Lamptrai proposed. Since Antidoros, having been allotted priest of Kalliste in the year (10) of Ekphantos (235/4?), made all the sacrifices that took place in the year on behalf of the Council and the People well and with love of honour, and dedicated a stone altar from his own resources, and rendered accounts for everything that he had undertaken (15) in the year in accordance with the laws; so, therefore, that the Council and People should also be seen to give thanks to those who behave with love of honour with respect to the sanctuary, for good fortune, the Council shall decide that the *proedroi* who preside at (20) the forthcoming Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council to praise Antidoros son of Antidoros of Pergase and crown him with a foliage crown for his piety towards the gods and (25) his love of honour with respect to the Council and People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the sanctuary of Kalliste; and the officer in charge of the financial administration shall allocate for the inscribing of the stele (30) and the making the expense accrued. *In crown:* The Council. Antidoros of Pergase. *In crown:* The People. Antidoros of Pergase.

13. 229–209.
Priestess of Demeter. Said to have been found on acropolis. Set up by a temple of Demeter.
IG II² 863. "Cutter of *IG* II² 1706", 229/8–c. 203 (Tracy 1990: 47).

- -
[- - - - - - καὶ στ]εφαν[ῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφ]- non-stoich.
[άνωι] εὐσεβείας [ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τοὺς]
[θ]εο[ὺ]ς καὶ φιλοτιμίας· *ν* [ἀ]ν[αγράψαι δ]-
[ὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γ[ρ]αμμα[τέα τ]-
5 [ὸ]ν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή[ληι λ]-
[ι]θίνει καὶ στῆσαι πα[ρὰ] τὸν ν[εὼν τῆ]-
[ς] Δήμητρος· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρα[φὴν]
[κα]ὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τ[ῆς στ]ήλη[ς μερίσα]-
[ι τὸ]ν ταμίαν τὸ [γ]εν[ό]μ[ε]ν[ο]ν [ἀ]νά[λωμα].
vacat 0.07
10 ἡ βουλὴ
[τὴ]ν ἱερείαν.

… and crown with a foliage crown for [*her, or if reference is to priestess's husband, his, cf. no. 10*] piety towards the gods and love of honour; and the prytany (5) secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it beside the temple of Demeter; and the treasurer shall allocate for the inscribing and setting up of the stele the expense accrued. (10) The Council. The Priestess.
The inscription was perhaps set up next to a local Attic temple of Demeter and removed to the acropolis in antiquity, or in modern times.

14. 210/9–171/0.
Priest of Kalliste. Athens, by Dipylon gate (sanctuary of Kalliste).
IG II² 789. "Cutter of *IG* II² 913", 210/9–171/0 (Tracy 1990: 73).

- -
[ἐπαινέσαι - - καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ] στεφά-
[νωι εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς περὶ τὰς θ]εὰς
[καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βο]υλὴν καὶ
[τ]ὸν δῆμον· [ἀ]ναγ[ράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ] ψήφισ-
5 μα ἐν στήλει λιθ[ίνε]ι [τὸγ] γ[ραμμ]ατέα
τὸν κατὰ [πρυ]τανεία[ν] καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι
ἱερῶι τῆς Καλλίστης· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρα-
φὴν καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς στήλης με-
ρίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τ[ὸ]
10 γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα καὶ λογίσασθαι [τῶι]
δήμωι.

… praise … and crown him with a foliage crown for his piety concerning the goddesses and love of honour towards the Council and People; and the prytany secretary (5) shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the sanctuary of Kalliste; and the treasurer of the stratiotic funds shall allocate for the inscribing and preparation of the stele the (10) expense accrued and shall account for it to the People.

15. 194/3–148/7.
Priest(ess?). Agora (marble dump east of Metroon).
Agora 16.287. "Cutter of Agora I 247", 194/3–148/7 (Tracy 1990: 104).

```
        - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
        [- - - - - - - - - - - -]Ι[- - - - - - - - - - - - - ]      non-stoich.
        [- - - καὶ παίδων καὶ] γυναι[κῶν - - - - - -]
        [- - - - - - - - - - - -] τὰ ἱερὰ [- - - - - - - - -]
        [- - - - - - - - - - τ]ὴν πανν[υχίδα - - - - - - -]
5       [- - - - - - τὰ μὲν ἀ]γαθὰ [δέχεσθαι - - - - -]
        [- - - - - - - - - - - - -]υ̣ρ[- - - - - - - - - - -]
        - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
```

2 Lambert, cf. no. 8.23 etc. || 5–6 Ἀγλα]ύ̣ρ[ου ? Lambert.

… and the children and the women … the rites … the all-night revel … (5) to accept the good report …

16. 190/89?.
Priestess (of Aglauros?). Found between theatres of Herodes and Dionysos. Probably set up originally in Aglaurion.
IG II² 948; N. Robertson, *AJP* 105 (1984), 392 n. 47 (*SEG* 34.88). "Cutter of Agora I 656 + 6355", 203/2–164/3 (Tracy 1990: 84).

```
190/89?  [ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - -ίδος]
         [- - -ς πρυτανείας, ἧι Ἡρακλ]έων Ν[α]-        non-stoich. 32-34
         [ννάκου Εὐπυρίδης ἐγραμμά]τευεν·
         [- - - - ὧνος - - - -ι ἐπὶ] δέκα, τρίτει καὶ
5        [- - - - ι τῆς πρυτανεί]ας· βουλὴ ἐμ βου-
         [λευτηρίωι· τῶν προέδρω]ν ἐπεψήφιζεν Σω-
         [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ]ς Φλυεὺς ν καὶ συν-
         [πρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλε]ῖ· ν Ἄλκιμος Διφ-
         [ίλου - - - - - εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ] ὧν ἀπαγγέλλε-
10       [ι - - - - - - - - - - - - ὁ υἱὸς ? τῆς ἱε]ρείας τῆς
         [Ἀγλαύρου ? ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν] ὧν ἔθυεν τοῖς
```

[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –] καὶ τῶι Ἄρει κα-
[ὶ – – – – – – – – – – – καὶ τῶι Ἀπ]όλλω[νι] κα-
[ὶ –]
– –

10–11 After Robertson (cf. no. 8).

In the archonship of Achaios (190/89?), in the … prytany, of …, for which Herakleon son of Nannakos of Eupyridai was secretary, on the –teenth of .., the … -third day of the prytany. Council in the Council Chamber. Of the *proedroi* So… of Phlya was putting to the vote and the *symproedroi.* It was decided by the Council. Alkimos son of Diphilos of … proposed: about the report which … [name the son of?] the priestess of [Aglauros?] made about the sacrifices which she made … to Ares and … and Apollo and …

17. 179/8–161/0.
Priest (of Asklepios?). Found in area of theatre of Dionysos. Originally set up in Asklepieion.
IG II² 820; *SEG* 18.20; Aleshire 1991: 83. "Cutter of *IG* II² 903", 179/8–161/0 (Tracy 1990: 134).

– –
[τὴν εὐκοσμί?]αν τοῦ ἱερ[οῦ – – – – – – – c.20 – – – – – – – –] non-stoich.
[– – c. 6 – –]ακοσίας δραχμάς· ὅπως [ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ]
[ὁ δῆμος] πᾶσι φιλοτιμουμένοις φαί[νωνται τὴν προσ]-
[ήκουσ]αν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἀποδιδόντ[ες· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει]
5 [δεδόχθ]αι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας π[ροέδρους εἰς]
[τὴν ἐπιοῦσ]αν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσ[αι περὶ τούτων, γνώ]-
[μην δὲ ξυμβ]άλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς ε[ἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι]
[δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ] ἐπα[ι]νέσαι τὸν ἱερέα [τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]
[– – – c.12-14 – – – –]ν Σαραπίωνος Παμ[βωτάδην καὶ στε]-
10 [φανῶσαι αὐτὸν θα]λλοῦ στεφάνωι ε[ὐσεβείας ἕνε]-
[κα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θε]οὺς καὶ φιλοτιμία[ς τῆς πρὸς τὸν]
[δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων]· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τό[δε τὸ ψήφισ]-
[μα τὸν γραμματέα τὸ]ν κατὰ πρυτανε[ίαν ἐν στήλει]
[λιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι αὐτ]ὴν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι [τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]·
15 [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν] καὶ τὴν στήλην [μερίσαι τοὺς(?)]
[ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμ]ενον ἀν[άλωμα. *vac.*]

… the [adornment/good order?] of the sanctuary … [donated?] … hundred drachmas. So, therefore, that the Council and People may also

be seen to render the honour and thanks due to all those who display love of honour, for good fortune, (5) the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council to praise the priest [of Asklepios], … son of Serapion of Pambotadai, and crown (10) him with a foliage crown for his piety towards the gods and his honour-loving behaviour with respect to the Athenian People; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the sanctuary [of Asklepios]; (10) and those in charge of the financial administration shall allocate for the inscribing and the stele the expense accrued.

18. 173/2. Priest of Asklepios.
IG II² 996 + *SEG* 16.93; *SEG* 18.21. "Cutter of *IG* II² 783", 173/2–161/0 (Tracy 1990: 144).

173/2 [ἐπὶ Ἀλέξιδος ἄρχοντος, ἐ]πὶ τῆς Πτολεμ[αΐδος δεκάτης πρυτα-
νείας]· non-stoich. 51–7
[δήμου ψηφίσματα· Μουν]ιχιῶνος ἑνδε[κάτει κατὰ θεόν, ὀγδόει καὶ]
[δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανεία]ς· ἐκκλησία κυρ[ία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν προ]-
[έδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Φιλ]ήσιος Διονυσο[– – –c.10– – -καὶ συμπρό-
εδροι]·
5 [ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι· ––c.5–]ς Νικηράτου Φλυεὺ[ς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ – –c. 7–]
[– – – – – –c. 18– – – – – –] τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκλ[ηπιοῦ – – – – –c.14– – – –]
[– c.10 – ὑπομείνας?] τὴν λε[ι]τ[ου[ρ]γίαν τὰ [εἰσιτητήρια ἔθυσεν τῶι]
[Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ τεῖ Ὑγιείαι?] καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς· [ἔθυσεν δὲ καὶ
τοῖς Ἀσκλη?]-
[πιείοις καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ?] ἐπ̣τ̣ραπεζώσατ[ο καὶ τὰς παννυχί-
δας συν?]-
10 [ετέλεσεν καλῶς ? καὶ φιλ]οτίμως· προέστη δ̣ὲ̣ [καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας
τῆς?]
[ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ? ἀκολούθως τ]οῖς νόμοις κ̣α̣τ̣ατε[θηκὼς – – –c.12– – – –]
[– – –c.7– – δραχμάς – – – – –] ἀ̣γ̣ῶ̣ν̣ε̣ς συν̣ετ̣ε̣[λ– – – – – – – – – – –]
– –

In the archonship of Alexis (173/2), in the tenth prytany, of Ptolemais. Decrees of the People. On the eleventh of Mounichion by divine reckoning, on the eighteenth of the prytany. Principal Assembly in the theatre. Of the *proedroi* Philesios son of Dionyso… of … was putting to

the vote, and the *symproedroi.* It was decided by the People. … son of Nikeratos of Phlya proposed. Since … that the priest of Asklepios … [having undertaken?] the liturgy, [sacrificed the entry-sacrifices to Asklepios and Hygieia?] well and piously; [and sacrificed also at the Asklepieia and the Epidauria?], and prepared the table, and [made a contribution to the all-night revels?] well and with love of honour; and presided over [good order in the sanctuary?] in accordance with the laws, having deposited [… drachmas, …] contributed … games …

19. 165/4.
Priest of Asklepios. Area of Asklepieion.
IG II² 950; *SEG* 18.22.

165/4 ἐπὶ Πέλοπος ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαιίδος δω- non-stoich. 36–51
δεκάτης πρυτανείας· Σκιροφοριῶνος, ἕκτει καὶ δε-
κάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· ἔδο-
ξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Αἰσχέας Θεοπείθου
5 Κηφισιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
τοῦ ἐν ἄστει Πρωταγόρας Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν πρό-
σοδον ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὴμ βουλὴν ἀπήγγελκεν
ἐν αἷς πεποίηται θυσίαις γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ
καὶ σωτήρια πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τὰς πό-
10 [λ]εις τὰς Ἀθηναίων· ἐπιμεμέληται δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἰε-
[ρ]οῦ εὐκοσμίας καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἁπάσας τέθυκεν κατὰ [τὰ]
ψηφίσματα· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμο-
[ν]α καὶ ἁρμόττουσαν τεῖ ἱερω[σ]ύνε[ι], *ν* ἀγαθεῖ τύ[χει δεδόχθαι τεῖ]
βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησί-
15 αν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλε-
σθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ
ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄστει
καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι εὐσε-
βείας ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ
20 πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, *νν* ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν
στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῶ[ι]·
τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν μερίσαι τὸ γενόμε-
νον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης. *vac.*

in corona:
ἡ βουλὴ
25 ὁ δῆμος
τὸν ἱερεῖα
Πρωταγόραν
Περγασῆθεν.

In the archonship of Pelops (165/4), in the twelfth prytany, of Ptolemais. Skirophorion, on the sixteenth of the prytany. Assembly in the theatre. It was decided by the Council and People. Aischeas son of Theopeithes (5) of Kephisia proposed. Since the priest of Asklepios in the city, Protagoras son of Niketes of Pergase, having made an approach to the Council, has reported on the sacrifices which he has performed and the fine and salutary rites for all Athenians and those who dwell (10) in the cities of the Athenians, and has supervised the good order of the sanctuary and performed all the sacrifices in accordance with the decrees, and has displayed seemly conduct, fitting for the priesthood, for good fortune, the Council shall decide that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly (15) shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council to praise the priest of Asklepios in the city and crown him with a foliage crown for the piety and honour-loving behaviour which he continues to show (20) towards the gods; and to inscribe the decree on a stone stele and stand it in the sanctuary of Asklepios; and the treasurer of the military fund shall allocate for the inscribing of the stele the expense accrued.
In Crown: The Council. (25) The People. The priest, Protagoras of Pergase.

20. 163/2.
Priest of Zeus Soter. Piraeus.
IG II² 783; B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 3 (1934), 29–30. "Cutter of *IG* II² 783", 173/2–161/0 (Tracy 1990: 143).

163/2 [ἐπὶ Ἐράστου ἄρ]χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας, ἧι non-stoich.
[Δημήτριος Ξ]ένωνος Ἐπικηφίσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· βουλῆς ψηφίσματα·
[Σκιροφοριῶν]ος ὀγδόει μετ' εἰκάδας, τρίτει καὶ εἰκοστεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας·
[βουλὴ ἐμ Πει]ραιεῖ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Ζωΐλος Ζωΐλου Φλυεὺς καὶ
5 [συμπρόεδρο]ι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ· Λυκῖνος Νίκωνος Ἁλιμούσιος εἶπεν· ὑπ[ὲρ ὧν]
[ἀπαγγέλ]λει ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τοῦ ἐμ Πειραιεῖ καὶ οἱ ἐπιμ[ελητα]ὶ
[περὶ τῶν ἱ]ερῶν ὧν ἔθυον [τ]ῶι τε Διὶ τῶι Σωτῆρι καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τεῖ Σω[τείραι καὶ]

[τῶι Ἀσκληπ]ιῶι καὶ τεῖ Ὑγιείαι καὶ το[ῖς ἄλλ]οις θεοῖς παρα-
στήσα[ντες θύματα]
[ὡς ὅτι κάλλιστα, ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τεῖ] βουλεῖ τὰ μὲν
ἀγ[αθὰ δέχεσθαι]
- -

In the archonship of Erastos, the twelfth prytany, of Aiantis, for which Demetrios son of Xenon of Epikephisia was secretary. Decrees of the Council. On the twenty-third of Skirophorion, the twenty-third of the prytany. Council in the Piraeus. Of the *proedroi* Zoilos son of Zoilos of Phlya was putting to the vote and his *symproedroi.* It was decided by the Council. Lykinos son of Nikon of Halimous proposed. Concerning what the priest of Zeus Soter in the Piraeus reports and the *epimeletai* about the sacrifices which they have made to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira and Asklepios and Hygieia and the other gods, having supplied victims as finely as possible, for good fortune, the Council shall decide to accept the good report …

21. C. 160–140?.
Priest of Asklepios. Probably set up originally in Asklepieion.
SEG 18.24. Y. Grandjean, G. Rougemont, *BCH* 96 (1972), 102–4 no. 4.

[- καὶ τὰς θυ]- non-stoich. 32-38
[σίας ἁπάσας] τ̣έθ[υκεν κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα]·
[πεποίη]τ̣αι δὲ κα[ὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμο]-
[να κ]αὶ ἁρμόττου[σαν τεῖ ἱερωσύνει· ἀγαθεῖ]
τύχει δεδόχθα[ι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας]
[π]ροέδρους εἰς τ̣[ὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν]
[χρ]ηματίσαι περ[ὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλ]-
[λ]εσθαι τῆς βουλ[ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ]
[τε]ῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαιν[έσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]
[το]ῦ ἐν ἄστει Με[. . . . . .[c.17]. . . . . καὶ στε]-
[φα]νῶσαι αὐτὸν θ[αλλοῦ στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας]
[ἕν]εκα καὶ φιλοτι[μίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς]
[το]ὺς θεούς· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα]
[ἐν στ]ήληι λιθίνη[ι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Ἀσκλη]-
[πιοῦ ἱε]ρῶι· τὸν δ[ὲ ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν]
[μερίσαι] τ̣ὸ [γ]ε̣ν[όμενον ἀνάλωμα (εἰς τὴν ἀνα]-
[γραφὴν τῆς στήλης?) *vac.*]

… and performed all the sacrifices in accordance with the decrees, and has displayed seemly conduct, fitting for the priesthood, for good

fortune, that the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* (5) allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council to praise the priest of Asklepios in the city, Me…, and (10) crown him with a foliage crown for the piety and honour-loving behaviour which he continues to show towards the gods; and to inscribe the decree on a stone stele and stand it in the sanctuary of Asklepios; (15) and the treasurer of the military fund shall allocate for the inscribing of the stele the expense accrued.

22. 153/2.
Priests of Delos. Delos.
I Délos 1499.

\- -
[- - - - - - - Φι]λοκλῆ[ς Λυκ]ίσκου Ἀ[τη]- non-stoich.
[νεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπ]ειδὴ οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἐν Δήλωι οἱ
153/2 [ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχ]οντος τάς τε θυσίας ἔθυ-
[σαν τὰς καθηκ]ούσας ἁπάσας ὑπέρ τε τῆς
5 [βουλῆς καὶ τ]οῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
[παίδων] καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ρω-
[μ]αίων καὶ τῶν κατοικούντων Ἀθηναίων
[τ]ῶν ἐν Δήλωι καὶ ἐν ταύταις κεκαλλιερ[η]-
[κ]έναι αὐτούς, ἀνεστράφησαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
10 [ἄλ]λοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημό-
νως· *vac.* ἀγαθεῖ τύχει, δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ
τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν
[ἐ]κκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώ-
[μ]ην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ-
15 μον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσαι τοὺ[ς]
ἱερεῖς τοὺς ἐν Δήλωι τοὺς ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχον-
τος *vac.* Δρά[κ]οντα Φλυέα, Γοργίαν
Ἰωνίδην, Λήναιον Ἕρμειον, Σαραπίωνα
Παμβωτάδην, Ἡρακλείδην Παμβωτάδην,
20 Πρωτογένην Παιανιέα, Λεόντιχον Δεκε-
λέα, Στράτωνα Κηφισιέα, Πυλάδην Περι-
θοίδην, *vac.* καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον
αὐτῶν δάφνης στεφάνωι εὐσε[βείας ἕ]νεκα
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ - - - - - - - - - - - -
\- -

… Philokles son of Lykiskos of Atene proposed. Since the priests on Delos in the archonship of Phaidrias (153/2) performed all the customary sacrifices on behalf of the (5) Athenian Council and People and the children and the women and the Roman People and the Athenians dwelling on Delos, and the sacrifices were auspicious, and conducted themselves (10) in office in other respects well and in a seemly fashion, for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People (15) that it seems good to the Council to praise the priests on Delos in the archonship of Phaidrias, Drakon of Phlya, Gorgias of Ionidai, Lenaios of Hermai, Serapion of Pambotadai, Herakleides of Pambotadai, (25) Protogenes of Paiania, Leontichos of Dekeleia, Straton of Kephisia, Pylades of Perithoidai, and crown each of them with a crown of laurel for their piety towards the gods and …

23. 150–100?
Priest of Asklepios. Asklepieion.
IG II² 976; *SEG* 18.28. Cf. Tracy 1990: 241.

[– καὶ συμπρό]– non-stoich. 38-44
[εδροι· ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι κ]αὶ τῶι [δ]ήμω[ι· – –c. 8– – –]
[– – – – – – –c.18– – – – – – εἶ]πεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγ[γέλλει]
[ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν [ὧν ἔθυεν]
[τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι τῶι ἐν ? Ἐπ]ιδαύρωι καὶ τ[ῆι Ὑγιείαι]
5 [καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς π]άτριον ἦν· ἐπε[μελήθη δὲ]
[καὶ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς κλί]νης καὶ τῆς [κοσμήσεως]
[τῆς τραπέζης καὶ τῆς πα]ννυχίδος· [– – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – τῶι Ἀσκληπ]ιῶι καὶ τ[ῆι Ὑγιείαι – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ν ἐπε[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
– –

… and the *symproedroi*. It was decided by the Council and People. - - - proposed. Concerning what [the priest of Asklepios] reports about the sacrifices which he has performed [for Asklepios in?] Epidauros and [Hygieia (5) and the other gods for whom] it was traditional, and has supervised the strewing of the couch and the adornment of the table and the all-night revel … for Asklepios and Hygieia …

24. 137/6.
Priest of Asklepios. Asklepieion.
IG II² 974; *SEG* 18.26; *SEG* 19.140; Aleshire 1991: 146–7. Cf. Tracy 1990: 148.

137/6 ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείτου [ἄρ]χοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ἑ[βδόμης πρυτα]-
non-stoich. 46-53
νείας ἧι Διονύσ[ιο]ς Δημητρίου Ἀνακαιεὺς ἐγραμ[μάτευεν· Γαμη]-
λιῶνος τρίτει μ[ε]τ' εἰκάδας, ἑβδόμει καὶ εἰκοστ[εῖ τῆς πρυτανείας]·
ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ· τῶμ προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζε[ν - - - - c.12 - - - -]
Εὐπολέμου Ποτάμ[ι]ος καὶ συμπρόεδρο[ι· *vacat*]
vacat [ἔδο]ξε[ν] τεῖ β[ουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι· *vacat*]
Διογένης [Διοκ]λείδου Κυδαθ[ηναιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Λεωνίδης?]
Νικοκ[ράτου] Φλυεὺς ὁ γενόμεν[ος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄ]-
[στ]ει τὸν ἐπὶ Τιμάρχου ἄρχοντος ἐν[ιαυτὸν τά τε εἰσιτητήρια ἔθυ]-
[σ]εν καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς τῶι Ἀσκλη[πιῶι καὶ τεῖ Ὑγιείαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλ]-
λοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν καὶ ἐβουθύ[τησεν τοῖς τε Ἀσκληπιείοις]
καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἡρώιοις παραστ[ήσας θύματα ὡς κάλλιστα]
[κ]αὶ τὰς τούτων παννυχίδας συν[ετέλεσεν· θύσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ]
[τ]ῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδ[ων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ καλλιερή]-
[σ]ας, ἐν ἅπασιν ἀπήγγειλεν τεῖ βο[υλεῖ γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ]
σωτήρια· ἔστρωσεν δὲ καὶ τὰς κλ[ίνας - - - - - c.14 - - - - - ἐν ἑκά]-
στει τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπιφανῶς καὶ ε- - - - - - - - - - c. 22 - - - - - - - - -
ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα - - - - - - *name* - - - - - - εἷς τὰ]
Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρρηφοροῦσαν· βουλόμ[ενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον αὔξειν τὰς]
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμὰς καὶ τὴν τ[ῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ἐβουθύτη]-
σεν καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ταῦρον [καὶ ἐκόσμησεν τὴν τράπεζαν]
καὶ παννυχίδα συνετέλεσεν παρθ[ενικῶι χορῶι· καταστήσας]
δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Δῖον κλειδοῦχον κα[ὶ πυρφόρον ἐπὶ ἁπάσας τὰς]
[κ]αθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένας θε[ραπείας ἐν αἷς τοῖς θύουσιν]
[τ]ῶι θεῶι κεχορήγηκεν ἐκτενῶς, τοῦ τ[ε τεμένους τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]
[καὶ] τῆς Ὑγιείας καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν [αὐτοῖς - - - c.14 - - - -]
[- c.4 - τ]ὴν καθήκουσαν [ἐ]πι[μέ]λειαν ἐποιή[σατο - - - c.14 - - - -]
- - c.8 - - -ων· προ[σκαλέσας] δὲ καὶ τὴν βο[υλὴν - - - - c.14 - - - - -]
- - - c.9 - - - -α ποι[ήσασθαι πε]ρὶ τούτων τ- - - - - - - - c.19 - - - - - - - -
- - - c.9 - - - -ΟΜΕ - - - - c.10 - - - -ΑΣΕΩΣΑΝΔ- - - - - - - c.18 - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - c.22 - - - - - - - - - αὐτῶν δια- - - - - - - - - c.18 - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - c.23 - - - - - - - - - - - - υτος ἀναδ- - - - - - - - - c.17 - - - - -
[- - - - - - - - - c.22 - - - - - - - - - - - - ἐκ τῶ]ν ἰδίω[ν - - - - - - - c.17 - - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

In the archonship of Herakleitos (137/6), in the seventh prytany, of Antiochis, for which Dionysios son of Demetrios of Anakaia was secretary. On the twenty-third of Gamelion, the twenty-seventh of the prytany. Assembly in the Piraeus. Of the *proedroi* … (5) son of Eupolemos of Potamos was putting to the vote, and the *symproedroi.* It was decided by the Council and People. Diogenes son of Diokleides of Kydathenaion proposed. Since [Leonides?] son of Nikokrates of Phlya, having become priest of Asklepios in the city in the year of Timarchos' archonship, sacrificed the entry-sacrifices (10) well and piously to Asklepios and Hygieia and the other gods for whom it was traditional, and sacrificed the oxen at the Asklepieia and the Epidauria and the Heroa, supplying victims in the finest way, and contributed to the all-night revels of these festivals; and performed auspicious sacrifices on behalf of the Council and People and the children and women, (15) and in everything reported to the Council that the rites had turned out fine and salutary; and he strewed the couches …. splendidly in each of the sacrifices and …; and gave his own daughter, [*name*], to serve as *arrhephoros* at the Epidauria; and wishing to enhance further the (20) honours done to the gods and the preservation of the city, he sacrificed well and with distinction a bull and adorned the table and contributed a chorus of maidens to the all-night revel, and having made his son Dios custodian and fire-carrier for all the therapies that take place every day, in which he (25) made generous provision for those sacrificing to the god, and managed in customary fashion the precinct of Asklepios and Hygieia and the temple and the …. in them … and having invited the Council … do concerning these things … (30) … them … from his own resources …

25. 126/5?
A priestess? Agora.
SEG 16.102; *Agora* 16.319. "Cutter of Agora I 286", 130/29–117/6 (Tracy 1990: 190, under *Agora* I 3939)

126/5? [ἐπὶ Διοτίμου(?) ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆ]ς Πτολεμαιίδος ε[– – –6-7– – –]
non-stoich.
[πρυτανείας ἧι – – – – – – – –]ς Αἰξωνεὺς ἐγραμμ[άτευεν· – –2-3–]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – , τ]ετάρτηι καὶ εἰκοστ[ῆι τῆς πρυτα]-
[νείας· ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι ἡ μ]ετα[χθεῖσα ἐκ Πειρ[αιέως
κατὰ τὸ]
5 [ψήφισμα ὃ – –c.6– – εἶπεν· τῶν προέδ]ρων ἐπεψήφιζεν [– –c.12– –]
[– – – – – – – – – – c.17– – – – – – – – – – καὶ συμπρόεδ]ροι· *vacat*
[*vacat* ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι κ]αὶ τῶι δήμωι· *vacat*

[– – – – – – – –c.27– – – – – – – –] εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν [ἀπαγγέλλει .]
[– – – – – – – – – –c.18– – – – –Λαμ]πτρέως θυγα[τ- ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰε]-
[ρῶν ὧν – – – – –]IZO[.]N[.]AN[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ων[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –], ἀγαθεῖ τύ[χει δεδόχθαι τεῖ]
[βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρο]υς εἰς τὴ[ν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλη]-
[σίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γν]ώμην [δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι]
[τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτ]ι δοκε[ῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ΕΝΠ[– – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]κα[– – – – – – – – – – –]
– –

In the archonship of Diotimos (126/5?), in the … prytany, of Ptolemais, for which … of Aixone was secretary. On the twenty-fourth of the prytany. Assembly in the theatre transferred from the Piraeus according to the (5) decree which … proposed. Of the *proedroi* … was putting to the vote, and the *symproedroi.* It was decided by the Council and the People. … proposed. Concerning the report … daughter of … of Lamptrai [about the (10) rites which] … for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly (15) shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council …

26. C. 112–110.
Priest of Asklepios. Asklepieion.
IG II² 975 + 1061; *SEG* 18.27. "Cutter of Agora I 6108", 112/1–111/0 (Tracy 1990: 201).

– –
ἐπειδὴ Δίων Δίωνο[ς – – – – – – – – – –c.25– – – – – – – – – – τὸν]
non-stoich.
[ἱ]ερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ – – – – – – – – – – – – –c.28– – – – – – – – –
ὑπομείνας τὴν ἱερωσύνη[ν τὸν ἐπὶ – – – – –c.9– – – – – ἄρχοντος ἐνι]-
αυτὸν τά τε εἰσιτητή[ρια ἔθυσεν – – – – – – – c.18 – – – – – – – – κα]-
λῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς· ἐβ[ουθύτησεν δὲ καὶ – – – – –c.12– – – – – τῶι Ἀσ]-
κληπιῶι καὶ τῆι Ὑγι[είαι τοῖς Ἀσκληπιείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ]
τοῖς Ἡρώιοις παραρ[τήσας θύματα ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ τὰς τού]-
των πανυχίδας [συνετέλεσεν· θύσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς]
καὶ τοῦ δήμου κα[ὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ καλλιερήσας, ἐν ἅπα]-
σιν ἀπήγγειλεν [γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια· ἔστρω]-

σεν δὲ καὶ τὰς κλ[ίνας – – – – –c.15– – – – – ἐν ἑκάστηι τῶν θυσι]-
ῶν ἐπιφανῶς κ[αὶ ε– – – – – – – –c.26– – – – – – – – – – – – – – κατέσ]-
τησεν δὲ καὶ τὸ̣ν [ὑὸν – – – – – – – – –c.22– – – – – – – – – κλειδοῦ]-
χον τοῦ θεοῦ πρ – – – – – – – – – – – –c.32– – – – – – – – – – – – – –
προέστη δὲ κα[ὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ἀκο]λο̣[ύθως]
τοῖς νόμοις κα[τατεθηκὼς – – – –c.12 – – – – – ἐν τῆι ἱερω]σύνηι
πρὸς δραχμὰς [– c.4 –· ἵ̣να οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαί]νωντ[αι]
τιμῶντες κ̣α[ὶ χάριτας προσηκούσας ἀποδιδόντες τ]οῖς πρό̣[ς]
τ̣ε τοὺς θεο[ὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐκτ]ε̣νῶς δι[α]-
[κ]ειμένοις, γί̣[νωνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἱερεῖς ζηλωταὶ τῶν ὁμ]οίων, *v*
[ἀγαθ]ῇ̣ τύ[χ]ῃ̣ δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι τοὺς λαχόντας] προέ-
[δρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περ]ὶ τούτω[ν],
[γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμο]ν ὅτι δο-
[κεῖ τῆι βουλῆι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι πάντα τὰ ἀπηγγ]ελμένα
[ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τεθυμένων ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τ]ῆς βου-
[λῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου – – – – – – – –c.23 – – – – – – – –· ἐπα]ινέσα[ι]
[δὲ τὸν ἱερέα – – – – – – – –c.21– – – – – – – – – – εὐσεβείας] ἕνεκ[α]
[ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας] τ̣ῆς πρ[ὸς]
[τὸν δ]ῆμον [καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάν]ωι· δ̣ε̣δ̣[όσ]-
[θ]α̣ι δὲ αὐτ[ῶι καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ὅτου ἂν ἧι ἄ̣ξιος· ἀνα]γράψα[ι δὲ]
[τ]όδε τὸ ψή[φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν] στήλ̣ῃ̣
[λι]-
[θί]ν̣ῃ̣ καὶ στῆ̣[σαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· εἰς δὲ τὴ]ν̣
ἀνα<γ>[ρα]-
[φ]ὴν καὶ τὴ[ν στήλην μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν] τὸ
γε[νό]-
μενον ἀν[άλωμα. *vacat*]

Since Dion son of Dion … the priest of Asklepios … having undertaken the priesthood in the year of …'s archonship, and sacrificed the entry-sacrifices … (5) well and piously, and sacrificed the oxen to … and Asklepios and Hygieia at the Asklepieia and the Epidauria and the Heroa, supplying victims in the finest way, and contributed to the all-night revels of these festivals; and having conducted auspicious sacrifices on behalf of the Council and People and the children and women, and in everything (10) reported that the rites had turned out fine and salutary; and he strewed the couches … splendidly in each of the sacrifices and … ; and made his son … custodian of the god … (15) and took responsibility for the orderliness of the sanctuary in compliance with the laws, having deposited … in the priesthood … about … drachmas; so, therefore, that the Council and People may also be seen to honour and render fitting thanks to those who are pious

towards the gods and generously disposed towards the People, (20) and so that other priests may also be zealous in the same ways, for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that it seems good to the Council to accept all the good reports (25) of the sacrifices performed for the health and preservation of the Council and People … and to praise the priest … for the piety which he continues to show towards the gods and his honour-loving behaviour with respect to the People, and crown him with a foliage crown; (30) and to give him anything else of which he may be worthy; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the sanctuary of Asklepios; and the treasurer of the military fund shall allocate for the inscribing and the stele the expense accrued.

27. 94/3.
Priest of Asklepios. Asklepieion.
IG II² 1033; *SEG* 18.29. Cf. Tracy 1990: 199.

θ[εοί].
94/3 ἐπὶ Καλ̣[λίου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς - - - - - ος - - - - -ς πρυτανείας]
non-stoich.
Ἀνθεστη[ριῶνος - - - - - - - - -c.38- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ι τῆς]
πρυτανε[ίας - - - - - - - - - - - - -c.45- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
5 νουμηνίαι ρ[- - - - - - - - - - -c.42- - - - - - - - - - - - - - · βου]-
λὴ ἐν βουλε[υτηρίωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν - - - - c.19- - - - -]
Μυρρινούσ[ιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι· - - -c.12- - -
ἐγ Μυρ]-
ρινούττης [εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ - - - - - - - -c.21- - - - - - - - τοῦ Ἀσκλη]-
πιοῦ παρεχ[- - - - - - - - - -c.35- - - - - - - - - - - ὑπομείνας τὴν]
10 λειτουργία[ν τὸν ἐπὶ Θεοδότου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς καθη-
κούσας θυσί]-
ας ἔθυσεγ κ̣[αὶ τοῖς τε Ἀσκληπιείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις τὰς
κλίνας ἔστρω]-
σεγ καὶ τού[των τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰς παννυχίδας συνετέλεσεν κατα-
στήσας ἐ]-
φ' ἑκατέραν [τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα - -c.6- ἀρρηφοροῦσαν καλῶς
καὶ φιλο]-
τίμως· προέ[στη δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶν θυόντων καθ' ἑκάστην
ἡμέραν ἐν]
15 τ̣ῶι ἱερῶι ἀκο[λούθως τοῖς νόμοις - - - - - -c.27- - - - - - - - κατὰ]
[τ]ὸν ἐνιαυ[τὸν -]
- -

Gods. In the archonship of Kallias (94/3), in the … prytany, of … Anthesterion … of the prytany … (5) on the first of the month … Council in the Council chamber; of the *proedroi* … of Myrrhinous was putting to the vote, and the *symproedroi*; the Council decided … of Myrrhinoutta proposed: since … of Asklepios shows himself … having undertaken the (10) liturgy in the the year of Theodotos' archonship, sacrificed the appropriate sacrifices, and strewed couches at the Asklepieia and the Epidauria, and contributed to the all-night revels at these festivals, having appointed his own daughter to be *arrhephoros* at each of the two festivals, well and with love of honour, and supervised the orderliness of those sacrificing every day (15) in the sanctuary in accordance with the laws … in the year …

28. C. 20/19.
Dadouch. Eleusis, near sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.
SEG 30.93. *I Eleus.* 300.

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τ̣[οῦ δήμο]υ τοῦ Ἀθ̣[ηναίων ἐ]

non-stoich.

c. 20/19 πὶ Ἀπολήξιδος ἄρχοντος ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς Π̣[α]νδιονίδο[ς ἐνάτης πρυ]-
τανείας ἧι Μητροφάνης Διονυσίου Ἀθμονεὺς ἐγ̣[γραμμάτευ]-
εν· Ἀνθεστηριῶνος δεκάτηι ὑστέραι, πρώτηι τῆς πρ̣[υτανεί]-
5 ας, ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπ̣[εψήφι]-
ζεν Μηνόφιλος Σατύρου Βερενικίδης καὶ συμπρόεδρο[ι· *vvv*]
Διό[τ]ιμος Διοδώρου Ἁλαιεὺς εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ καταστα̣[θέν]-
τες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τοῦ Κηρύκων γένους μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ βωμο̣[ῦ ἰε]-
ρέως Ἐπικράτους τοῦ Καλλιμάχου Λευκονοέως καὶ τοῦ πυ̣[ρ]-
10 φόρου καὶ ἱερέως τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐπιπ[υρ]-
γιδίας Λεοντίου τοῦ Τιμάρχου Κηφ [[[ε]]]ισιέως, καὶ τοῦ Κήρυκος
τ̣αῖν θεαῖν Διονυσίου τοῦ Δημοστράτου Παλληνέως, καὶ τοῦ
παναγοῦς κήρυκος Θεοφίλου τοῦ Μενεκράτους Χολλείδου, κ[αὶ]
τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ Πατρῴου καὶ κήρυκος τοῦ Ἀπόλ-
λων[ος]
15 τοῦ Πυθίου Γοργίππου τοῦ Εὐδήμου Μελιτέως, καὶ τοῦ λιθο-
φόρου
τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου καὶ ἱερέως Διὸς Ὁρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ὁρίας καὶ Πο-
σειδῶνος Προσ<β>α [[σ]] τηρίου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Θεμελιούχου
Δωσιθέου τοῦ Κλεομένους Μαραθωνίου, καὶ τῶν Ὑμναγωγῶν
Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀργείου Τρικορυσίου, Μεννέου Ↄ Ἀζηνιέως,
Φιλ[ή]-
20 μονος Ↄ Μελιτέως, Διότ [[ε]] ιμος Διοδώρου Ἁλαιεύς, Ἀπόληξις *v*
Ἀπελλικῶντος ἐξ Οἴου, Δημοχάρης Μενάνδρου Ἀζηνιεύς, Σαρ[α]-

πίων καὶ Διοκλῆς οἱ Διοκλέους Μελιτεῖς, Ἀρχίτιμος Ɔ Σφήττιο[ς],
Θεμιστοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους Ἀγνούσιος, Διονυσόδωρος Ɔ Δειρα[δι]-
ώτης, Κιχησίας Λέωντος Αἰξωνεύς, Ἀπολλώνιος Κτησικλέου[ς]
Ἀχα[ρ]νεύς, Δημόστρατος Διονυσίου Παλληνεύς, Τιμοσθένης Τι-
μάρχο[υ] Κηφ [[ε]] ισιεύς, Μένανδρος Δημοχάρους Ἀζηνιεύς,
Ἀρίστ[αι]-
χ[μ]ος Ἀμμωνίου Ἀναφλύστιος, Σοφοκλῆς Φιλώτου Σουνιεὺς
γ[ό]-
γ[ω]ι δὲ Διονυσοδώρου Δειραδιώτου, Ἰοφῶν Διονυσοδώρου
Δειρ[α]-
διώτης, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀγαθοκλέους Λευκονοεύς, Εὔφρων Ɔ
Μαρ[α]-
θώνιος, [Σ]έλευκος Δημέου Ἀλαιεύς, Μικίων Φιλοκράτους Πειραι-
ε[ύς],
ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον πρόσοδον ἐμφανίζουσιν τὸν δα[ι]-
δοῦχον Θεμιστοκλῆν δαιδούχου Θεοφράστου Ἀγνούσιον ἀρετῆι
κα[ὶ] εὐγ[ε]νείαι διαφέροντα μὴ μόνον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον παρέχεσ-
θαι
π[λ]είστης ἄξιον τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆι περὶ τὴν δαιδουχίαν ὑπερ-
οχῆ[ι]
τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τ [[ε]] ίμιον τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπαύξειν, ἐξ ὧν τὸ περὶ τὰ μυ-
στήρια μεγαλοπρεπὲς περιττοτέρας ἐκπλήξεως ὑπὸ παντὸς
ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀξιοῦται κόσμου, παρειληφότα
τὴν εὐ[γ]ένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἱερεωσύνην ἐγ διαδοχῆς παρὰ
τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφράστου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ
Σοφ[ο]-
[κλ]έους, ὃς ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ θεῖος, καὶ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ ἐπι-
πά[π]-
που, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λεοντίου θεῖος δὲ Σοφοκλέους τῶν
γεν[ο]-
μένων ἱερέων ἐπὶ βωμοῦ, καὶ Φιλοξενίδου τοῦ γενομένου μὲν
πρ[ό]-
τερο[ν] ἱερέως ἐπὶ βωμοῦ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δαιδούχου τοῦ ἀδελφο[ῦ]
Κηφ [[[ε]]] ισοδώρου τοῦ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱερέως, ὃς ἦν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν
ἐπίπαπ-
[π]ος αὐτοῦ τῶι πατρὶ Θεοφράστωι, καὶ Σοφοκλέους ὃς πρὸς μη-
τρ[ὸς]
ἦν ἐπίπαππος αὐτῶι, καὶ Φιλιστίδου, ὃς ἦν πατὴρ μὲν Φιλο-
ξενίδου κ[αὶ]
[Κ]ηφ [[ε]] ισοδώρου ἐπίπαππος δὲ Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ πάππου
αὐτοῦ, ὃ[ς]

γ.[ε]νηθεὶς ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ βωμοῦ μετ̣απαρέλαβεν ἐπιφανέστατα τὴν δ̣[αι]-
[[ι]] δ̣ουχίαν, καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀνεψιῶν παίδων γεγο-
νὼς [Φι]-
λιστίδηι κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱερεωσύνην μετα-
παρέλαβεν διασημότατα τὴν δαιδουχίαν, καὶ Λεοντίου τοῦ Σοφο-
κλέους μὲν πατρὸς πάππου δὲ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ ἐπιπάππου
αὐτο̣[ῦ]
κ̣αὶ πρὸ τούτων ἁπάντων Ἑρμοτ [[ε]] ίμου τε καὶ Ἱεροκλείδου τῶν
δα[ι]-
δουχησάντων πρὸ τῆς Κηρύκων ἀναγραφῆς εἰς τὸ γραμματεῖον ν
γενηθέντες ἔκγονοι Σήμων καὶ Ἱεροκλείδης καὶ Ἀντιφῶν κατέ-
σχον διὰ βίου τὴν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱερεωσύνην, ὧν ἑκάστου τῆς τε
πρὸς
τὰς θεὰς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν σεμνότητος καὶ
φ[ι]-
λοτιμίας ἐμ πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσιν εἰς τὸ γένος ψηφισθεῖ-
σαι πολλάκις ὑπό τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ γένους
παρ' [ὅ]-
λ̣ον τὸν καιρὸν τιμαὶ καὶ καθιερωμέναι παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς αὐταῖς
ἱκό-
[ν]ες ἐναργεῖς ἑστᾶσιν ἀποδίξις, πάντα δὲ πράττοντα τῆς τοῦ γέ-
[ν]ο̣υς αὐξήσεως ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τιμίων αὐτῶι τε
καὶ ἐ̣κ̣[ά]-
στωι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἱερέων, σπουδάσαντα περὶ τὴν τῶν
πατρ[ί]-
ων ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἴδησιν ἐσχηκότα μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν
ο̣[ἰ]-
κίαν γεγονυίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶι δαιδουχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τ̣ῆ̣[ς]
περ[ὶ] αὐτὸν φιλοτ [[[ε]]] ιμίας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκλελειμμένων πατρί-
ων ἀ[πό]-
κτησιν, ἐπιπεσούσης τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ζητήσεως πολλὰ
[καὶ]
[μ]ε̣[γ]ά̣λα διαπεπρά̣χ̣θ̣αι ἐξ [.]..[.].ΤΟΤ[...τ]ὴν προσήκου-
σα̣ν [....]

For the good fortune of the Athenian Council and People, in the archonship of Apolexis, in the ninth prytany, of Pandionis, for which Metrophanes son of Dionysios of Athmonon was secretary. On the twenty-first of Anthesterion, the first of the prytany. (5) Principal

Assembly in the theatre. Of the *proedroi* Menophilos son of Satyros of Berenikidai was putting to the vote, and the *symproedroi.* Diotimos son of Diodoros of Halai proposed: about those things which:

the men appointed by the *genos* of the Kerykes,

together with the altar-priest, Epikrates son of Kallimachos of Leukonoion,

and the fire-bearer (10) and priest of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia, Leontios son of Timarchos of Kephisia,

and the herald of the two goddesses, Dionysios son of Demostratos of Pallene,

and the all-holy herald, Theophilos son of Menekrates of Cholleidai,

and the priest of Hermes Patroos and herald of Apollo (15) Pythios, Gorgippos son of Eudemos of Melite,

and the Bearer of the Sacred Stone and priest of Zeus Horios and Athena Horia and Poseidon Probasterios and Poseidon Themeliouchos, Dositheos son of Kleomenes of Marathon,

and the leaders in the Hymns, Aristodemos son of Argeios of Trikorinthos, Menneas son of Menneas of Azenia, Philemon (20) son of Philemon of Melite, Diotimos son of Diodoros of Halai, Apolexis son of Apellikon of Oion, Demochares son of Menander of Azenia, Sarapion and Diokles sons of Diokles of Melite, Architimos son of Architimos of Sphettos, Themistokles son of Xenokles of Hagnous, Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai, Kichesias son of Leon of Aixone, Apollonios son of Ktesikles (25) of Acharnai, Demostratos son of Dionysios of Pallene, Timosthenes son of Timarchos of Kephisia, Menandros son of Demochares of Azenia, Aristaichmos son of Ammonios of Anaphlystos, Sophokles son of Philotas of Sounion and by birth son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai, Iophon son of Dionysodoros of Deiradiotai, Alexandros son of Agathokles of Leukonoion, Euphron son of Euphron of Marathon, (30) Seleukos son of Demeas of Halai, Mikion son of Philokrates of Peiraeus,

having made an approach to the People, declare that the dadouch Themistokles, son of the dadouch Theophrastos, of Hagnous, being distinguished by excellence and good birth, shows not only that his own life is worthy of the greatest honour, but by his pre-eminence as regards the dadouchy, (35) enhances the holiness and the honour of the rites, as a result of which the grandeur of the Mysteries is accorded greater awe by every man and by the throng of people which comes, having inherited the good-birth, and the priesthood that derives from it, in succession to:

his father Theophrastos and his grandfather Themistokles, and Sophokles, (40) who was the uncle of his father, and Xenokles his great-grandfather, who was brother of Leontios and uncle of Sophokles, who were altar-priests, and Philoxenides who had previously been altar-priest and after that dadouch, brother of Kephisodoros the altar-priest, who was in the male line great-grandfather (45) of his (*scil.* Themistokles the honorand's) father, Theophrastos, and Sophokles, who was his great-grandfather in the female line, and Philistides, (50) who was father of Philoxenides and Kephisodoros and great-grandfather of Themistokles his (*scil.* the honorand's) grandfather, who, having been altar-priest, succeeded to the dadouchy with great distinction, and Antiphon, who was second cousin (?) of Philistides, and having himself held the altar-priesthood, succeeded brilliantly to the dadouchy, and Leontios father of Sophokles, grandfather of Xenokles his (*scil.* the honorand's) great-grandfather, and before all these Hermotimos and Hierokleides, who were dadouchs before the writing-up of the Kerykes in the register, (55) and whose descendants, Semon and Hierokleides and Antiphon, were life-tenants of the altar-priesthood,

for each of whom honours and consecrated images alongside the goddess themselves give clear proof of the decrees that were voted for them many times by the Council and the People and the *genos*, over this whole period (60), for their piety towards the goddesses and their holiness in the sacred work and their love of honour in many great events relating to the *genos*,

and doing everything for the enhancement of the *genos* and for the honour appropriate to it and each of the priests from the *genos*, having zealously researched the ancestral traditions and gained knowledge not only from (65) the tenure of the dadouchy by members of his house for many generations, but also from his honour-loving behaviour with respect to it (*scil.* the *genos*) as regards lost and discontinued traditions, he accomplished many great things when he was responsible for the investigation of the transcripts (*apographai* – ? *written documents demonstrating eligibility for membership of the genos* … the appropriate …

7.2 Example of a hellenistic decree honouring a city official for performance of sacrifices

29. *IG* II^2 780, honouring the *agonothetes* at the City Dionysia (253/2?, archon Kallimedes. Year: Tracy 1990: 167). Cf. *SEG* 41.54.

Μοῦσ[αι].
ἐπὶ Καλλιμήδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος ἐνάτης πρυτανεία[ς, ἧι Καλ]- non-stoich. 52-59
λίας Καλλιάδου Πλωθεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος δεκάτηι [ὑστέρα]-
ι, ἐνάτηι καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσου· [τῶν προέ]-
δρων ἐπεψήφιζεν *ν* Χαρίας Ἠνιόχου Πήληξ *ν* καὶ συμπρόεδροι· *ν* [ἔδοξεν]
τῶι δήμωι· *ν* Νεοπτόλεμος Φιλέου Δειραδιώτης εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν ἀ[παγγέλλ]-
ει ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ἃς ἔθυσεν τῶι τε Διονύσωι κ[αὶ τοῖς ἄλ]-
λοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, *ν* ἀγαθῆι τύχηι δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμω[ι, τὰ μὲν ἀ]-
γαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυεν ἐφ' ὑγιε[ίαι καὶ σω]-
τηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ παίδων κα[ὶ γυναικῶ]-
ν [καὶ ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ βασιλίσσης Φίλας ὑγιείας καὶ]
[σωτηρία]ς *ν* ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης περὶ πλείστου ποιούμεν[ος τὴν πρ]-
ὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀποδεικνύμενος [τ]ὴν εὔνοιαν [καὶ φιλοτι]-
μίαν ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τάς τε θυσίας πά[σας ἔθυσεν τ]-
ὰς πατρίους ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσιν χρόνοις καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶ[ς, ἐπετέλεσε]-
ν δὲ καὶ τοὺς προάγωνας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, [ἐπεμελήθ]-
η δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν τε Διονυσιακῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶς [καὶ φιλοτί]-
[μ]ως *ν* ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην *ν* Ἀγαθαῖον Αὐτοκλέους [Προσ-πάλτιον]
[ε]ὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς [εἰς τὴν βουλ]-
ὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· *ν* εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι [δό]ντι τὰς ε[ὐθύνας τῆς ἐ]-
πιμελείας κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὑρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἀγαθ[ὸν ὅτου ἂν δοκ]-
εῖ ἄξιος εἶναι. *ν* ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρ[αμματέα τὸν κατὰ]

πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι [τεμένει τοῦ Διονύσο]-
υ, εἰς δὲ τὴν ποίησιν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στή[λης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι]
25 [δ]ιοικ[ή]σει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα. *vacat*

… (6) concerning the report of the *agonothetes* about the sacrifices which he has performed to Dionysos and the other gods for whom it was traditional, for good fortune, that the People shall decide, to accept the good things which took place in the sacrifices which he performed for the health and preservation of the Athenian Council and People and on behalf of the health and (10) preservation of king Antigonos and queen Phila; and since the *agonothetes,* rating highly piety towards the gods and displaying the good-will and honour-loving behaviour which he has towards the Athenian People, sacrificed all the ancestral (15) sacrifices at the appropriate times well and piously, and conducted the *proagones* in the sanctuaries according to tradition, and took care of the Dionysiac *agones* and of the other things well and in an honour-loving fashion, to praise the *agonothetes, …* for his piety towards the gods and his honour-loving behaviour with respect to (20) the Athenian Council and People …

8. Bibliography

Agora 15: *The Athenian Agora,* vol. XV. *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* by B. D. Meritt, J. S. Traill. Princeton 1974.

Agora 16: *The Athenian Agora,* vol. XVI. *Inscriptions: The decrees* by A. G. Woodhead. Princeton 1997.

Agora 19: *The Athenian Agora,* vol. XIX. *Inscriptions: Horoi* by G. V. Lalonde, *Poletai Records* by M. K. Langdorn (M. B. Walbank). Princeton 1991.

Aleshire, S. B. (1989). *The Athenian Asklepieion*. Amsterdam.

– (1991). *Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on Athenian Healing Cults*. Amsterdam.

Aleshire, S. B. and Lambert, S. D. (2003). 'Making the *Peplos* for Athena: a new edition of *IG* II² 1060 + 1036', *ZPE* 142: 65–86.

– (2011). 'The Attic *Gene* and the Athenian Religious Reform of 21 BC', in J. H. Richardson and F. Santangelo (eds.), *Priests and State in the Roman World*. Stuttgart, 553–75.

APF: see Davies 1971.

Blok, J. (2009a). 'Pericles' citizenship law: a new perspective', *Historia* 58: 141–70.
– (2009b). 'Gentrifying genealogy: on the genesis of the Athenian autochthony myth', in C. Walde, U. Dill (eds.), *Antike Mythen: Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen. Festschrift Fritz Graf.* Berlin, 251–75.
Blok, J. and Lambert, S. D. (2009). 'The Appointment of Priests in Attic *Gene*', *ZPE* 169: 95–121.

Chaniotis, A. (2008). 'Priests as ritual experts in the Greek world', in Dignas and Trampedach, 17–34.
Cole, S. G. (2004). *Landscapes, Gender and Ritual Space. The Ancient Greek Experience.* Berkeley.
Connelly, J. (2007). *Portrait of a Priestess. Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece.* Princeton.

Davies, J. K. (1971). *Athenian Propertied Families.* Oxford.
Dignas, B. and Trampedach, K. (eds.) (2008). *Practitioners of the Divine.* Cambridge Mass.

Foxhall, L. (1989). 'Household, Gender and Property in Classical Athens', *CQ* 39: 22–44.
Foxhall, L., Gehrke, H.–J. and Luraghi, N. (eds.) (2010). *Intentional History. Spinning Time in Ancient Greece.* Stuttgart.

Georgoudi, S. (2005). '*Athanatous therapeuein*. Réflexions sur des femmes au service des dieux', in V. Dasen and M. Piérart (eds.), *Idia kai demosia. Les cadres 'privés' et 'publics' de la religion grecque antique. Actes du IXe colloque du CIERGA, tenu à Fribourg du 8 au 10 septembre 2003. Kernos, suppl. 15.* Liège, 69-82.

Habicht, Ch. (1997). *Athens from Alexander to Antony.* Cambridge Mass.
Hoff, R. von den (2003). 'Tradition and Innovation: portraits and dedications on the early Hellenistic Akropolis', in O. Palagia and S. V. Tracy (eds.), *The Macedonians in Athens, 322–229 BC.* Oxford, 173–85.
– (2008). 'Images and Prestige of Cult Personnel in Athens between the sixth and the first centuries BC', in Dignas and Trampedach 2008, 107–41.
Henrichs, A. (2008), 'What is a Greek priest?', in Dignas and Trampedach 2008, 1–14.

Horster, M. (2004). *Landbesitz griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Berlin.
– (2010). 'Women in Athenian Religion', in G. Reger, F. X. Ryan and T. Winters (eds.), *Studies in Greek Epigraphy and History in Honor of Stephen V. Tracy*. Bordeaux, 177–92.

I Délos: Inscriptions de Délos, vol. 4 and 5, ed. by F. Durbach. Paris 1973.
I Eleus.: K. Clinton ed., *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone.* Athens, vol. I 2005; vol. II 2008.
I Rham.: B. Petrakos, *Ho Demos tou Rhamnountos. II Hoi Epigraphes.* Athens, 1999.

Keesling, C. (2003). *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis.* Cambridge.
Kourionotes, K. (1927–28). 'To hieron tou Apollonos tou Zosteros', *Arch. Delt.* 11: 9–53.

Lambert, S. D. (1999). '*IG* II² 2345, Thiasoi of Herakles and the Salaminioi Again', *ZPE* 125: 93–136.
– (2000). 'Ten Notes on Attic Inscriptions', *ZPE* 135: 51–62.
– (2003). '*IG* II² 410: An Erasure Reconsidered', in D. Jordan and J. Traill (eds.), *Lettered Attica, Proceedings of the Athens Symposium*, March 2000 (Canadian Institute at Athens, 2003), 59–67.
– (2004). 'Athenian State Laws and Decrees 352/1–322/1. I Decrees Honouring Athenians', *ZPE* 150: 85–120.
– (2005). 'Athenian State Laws and Decrees 352/1–322/1. II Religious Regulations', *ZPE* 154: 125–59.
– (2007a). 'Athenian State Laws and Decrees 352/1–322/1. III Decrees Honouring Foreigners. B. Other Awards', *ZPE* 159: 101–54.
– (2007b). 'Athenian State Laws and Decrees 352/1–322/1. IV Treaties and Other Texts', *ZPE* 161: 67–100.
– (2008). 'Aglauros, the Euenoridai and the Autochthon of Atlantis', *ZPE* 167: 22–26.
– (2010a). 'A Polis and its Priests: Athenian Priesthoods before and after Pericles' Citizenship Law', *Historia* 59: 143–75.
– (2010b). 'Connecting with the Past in Lykourgan Athens: an Epigraphical Perspective', in Foxhall, Gehrke and Luraghi 2010: 225–38.
– (2011). 'What was the point of inscribed honorific decrees in Classical Athens?', in S. D. Lambert (ed.), *Sociable Man. Essays on ancient Greek social behaviour in honour of Nick Fisher.* Swansea.

– forthcoming. 'Aristocracy and the Attic *gene*: a mythological perspective', in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds.), *Aristocracy, Elites and Social Mobility in Ancient Societies.* Swansea.
Lawton, C. L. (2005). *Attic Document Reliefs.* Oxford.
Lewis, D. M. (1983). 'A loyal husband?', *ZPE* 52: 48.
Liddel, P. (2003). 'The places of publication of Athenian state decrees from the 5th century BC to the 3rd century AD', *ZPE* 143: 79–93.
Luraghi, N. (2010). 'The demos as narrator: public honours and the construction of the future and past', in Foxhall, Gehrke and Luraghi 2010.

Oliver, J. H. (1941). 'Greek and Latin Inscriptions', *Hesp.* 10: 237–61.

PAA: J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens.* Toronto 1994–2009.
Parker, R. (1996). *Athenian Religion. A History.* Oxford.
– (2005). *Polytheism and Society at Athens.* Oxford.
Perrin-Saminadayar, E. (2005). 'Traditions religieuses et stratégies familiales. Sur quelques familles sacerdotales athéniennes de l'époque hellénistique', in M.–F. Baslez and F. Prévot (eds.), *Prosopographie et histoire religieuse. Actes du colloque tenu en l'Université de Paris XII – Val de Marne les 27 et 28 octobre 2000.* Paris, 51–67.
– (2007). *Éducation, Culture et Société à Athènes. Les acteurs de la vie culturelle Athénienne (229–88): un tout petit monde.* Paris.

Rhodes, P. J. (1972). *The Athenian Boule.* Oxford.
Rhodes, P. J. and Osborne, R. (2007). *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (corrected edition). Oxford.
Rosivach, V. J. (1994). *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens.* Atlanta.

Tracy, S. V. (1990). *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 BC.* Berkeley.
– (2003). *Athens and Macedon. Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 BC.* Berkeley.

Veligianni-Terzi, C. (1997). *Wertbegriffe in den attischen Ehrendekreten der klassischen Zeit.* Stuttgart.

Whitehead, D. (1983). 'Competitive outlay and community profit: *philotimia* in democratic Athens', *C&M* 34: 55–74.
– (1993). 'Cardinal Virtues: the language of public approbation in democratic Athens', *C&M* 44: 37–75.

Prêtres et prêtresses d'Athènes et de Délos à travers les décrets honorifiques athéniens (167–88 *a.* C.)

ERIC PERRIN-SAMINADAYAR

Abstract: Through an examination of the official Athenian documentation, this study aims to establish the place held by priests in the city during a decisive period of its history, one characterised by a religious renewal as Athens once again found itself master of Delos and its sanctuaries. While the number of surviving decrees passed in honour of priests of the metropolis or the colony remains small, the dossier of documents is nonetheless sufficient to show that priests were treated like all holders of an ἀρχή, in proportion to the services they rendered. At both Athens and Delos, these are very similar to the services rendered by the various magistrates, which is to be explained by their shared membership of the same social group of leading citizens.

Les prêtres et les prêtresses ont bénéficié à Athènes, comme dans le reste du monde grec, d'une attention toute particulière des autorités civiques : celles-ci ont tenu à ce que la cité toute entière leur manifeste sa reconnaissance par toutes sortes d'honneurs et de privilèges, justes contreparties de la place qu'ils tenaient dans les sociétés civiques, mais aussi du contrôle et de la surveillance dont ils étaient l'objet. Cette pratique est, dès l'époque classique, bien attestée dans notre documentation littéraire, épigraphique ou archéologique, qui assure que les honneurs (éloges publics, couronnes, décrets, statues…) et les privilèges (proédrie…) étaient votés par l'assemblée du peuple pour les détenteurs de sacerdoces publics. Mais force est de constater qu'à partir de l'époque hellénistique de tels honneurs furent plus fréquemment accordés, à Athènes comme ailleurs.

Entre 167 et 88 *a. C.*, un certain nombre de décrets honorifiques athéniens présentent ainsi plusieurs personnages qui ont exercé des fonctions sacerdotales à Athènes ou dans sa colonie de Délos et qui ont été honorés comme tels dans la métropole ou dans la colonie[1]. La

1 Voir la liste ci-dessous en Annexe I.

période envisagée ici présente un intérêt évident pour plusieurs raisons[2]. Elle se caractérise en premier lieu par une grande unité dans l'histoire athénienne et elle offre un contexte particulièrement favorable tant sur le plan politique qu'économique dans le cadre de l'*amicitia* romaine[3]. Ensuite, il faut reconnaître que la documentation athénienne des années 167–88 est tout particulièrement riche et offre ainsi des informations de toutes natures en grand nombre. Enfin et surtout, sur le plan religieux, la période qui s'ouvre avec la fin de la troisième guerre de Macédoine s'accompagne d'un certain regain des activités religieuses athéniennes en liaison avec le retour de l'île sacrée de Délos dans le giron athénien et la mainmise des Athéniens sur ses principaux sacerdoces[4], mais également à Athènes où les cultes plus traditionnels connaissent un véritable renouveau[5], ou encore à Delphes, quand Athènes renoue avec la pratique des Pythaïdes, ces grandes processions qui conduisirent les corps constitués de la cité ainsi qu'une foule considérable de pèlerins auprès d'Apollon Pythien[6] ; le regain d'activité des *génè* aristocratiques à la basse époque hellénistique participe d'ailleurs du même élan[7].

1. Le dossier documentaire : état des lieux et première approche

Si l'on s'en tient aux décrets honorifiques de la cité athénienne[8], le dossier documentaire sur lequel on peut s'appuyer se compose de décrets en l'honneur de tel ou tel prêtre bien individualisé[9], de décrets plus généraux pour une catégorie de prêtres (par exemple les prêtres athéniens de la clérouquie délienne[10]) ou encore, de textes où l'action de grands personnages comme prêtres est évoquée au milieu d'autres

2 Pour une étude sur la plus longue durée, voir la contribution de Stephen D. Lambert dans le présent volume.

3 Sur ce contexte voir Habicht 1999 : 243 sqq.

4 Roussel 19872 ; Bruneau 1970 ; Habicht 1999 : 271–283 ; Mikalson 1998 : 214–241.

5 Mikalson 1998 : 242 sqq.

6 Colin 1905. Voir maintenant Karila-Cohen 2003, 2005 et 2007.

7 MacKendrick 1969 et, plus récemment, Ismard.

8 Nous laissons de côté ici les décrets émanant des subdivisions civiques ou des associations (e. g. *IG* II² 1334, décret des orgéons de la Grande Mère pour la prêtresse Onasô).

9 Prêtre de Zeus Sôter du Pirée : *IG* II² 793. Prêtre d'Asclépios : *IG* II² 950 ; 974 ; 975+1061 ; 1019 ; 976 ; 1033 ; *SEG* 18.24.

10 *ID* 1499.

fonctions exercées ou d'autres services rendus[11]. Mais à ces documents, il faudrait ajouter les dédicaces publiques ou les bases de statues votées par la *Boulè* et le *démos* en l'honneur de détenteurs de sacerdoces : c'est une pratique connue, mais déjà exceptionnelle, dès l'époque classique[12] et à la haute époque hellénistique pour certains dignitaires des Mystères d'Éleusis seulement[13]. Pour la période qui nous intéresse ici, je n'ai trouvé qu'un seul exemple (très restitué) à Athènes[14] et aucun à Délos[15], alors que les dédicaces privées, le plus souvent dans le cadre de démarches familiales, sont extrêmement nombreuses[16] ; il faut en fait attendre la seconde moitié du Ier siècle *a. C.*, pour voir la pratique se généraliser à Athènes comme à Délos[17].

La documentation est évidemment, comme toujours, lacunaire, et on pourrait même au premier abord s'étonner, au final, du petit nom-

---

11 Voir, par exemple, le décret des clérouques de Délos en l'honneur d'Euboulos de Marathon (*ID* 1498), qui récapitule la carrière du personnage et rappelle ses fonctions sacerdotales.

12 *IG* II² 3454 (dédicace du peuple pour le prêtre Aristokratès de Phalère sur un cippe du milieu du IVe siècle).

13 *IG* II² 3460 = *I.Eleusis* 186 (dédicace du conseil et du peuple pour un épimélète des Mystères, vers 255, au milieu d'autres magistrats en fonction à Éleusis et en charge de la sécurité du sanctuaire). Ce type d'honneurs est à mettre en relation avec les décrets conservés en l'honneur des épimélètes des Mystères *IG* II² 807 = *I.Eleusis* 202 (ca 225–220) et *IG* II² 847 = *I.Eleusis* 208 (214/3), qui les rendent possibles. Ils sont encore attestés à la basse époque hellénistique : *IG* II² 3463 = *I.Eleusis* 226 (entre 165 et 134, d'après l'écriture).

14 *IG* II² 3481 : [Ὁ δῆμ]ος | [---] Δημοχάρου | [--- θ]υγατέρα | [ἱέρειαν Παν]δρόσου. On connaît en revanche pour la période plusieurs dédicaces publiques en l'honneur de canéphores (*IG* II² 3477 et 3489). Voir peut-être aussi deux bases de statues érigées à Éleusis, l'une par le peuple (*I.Eleusis* 257), l'autre par le Conseil et le peuple (*I.Eleusis* 258), pour lesquelles l'on n'a conservé ni le nom ni la fonction des personnages honorés.

15 Je ne retiens pas ici la base de statue *ID* 1656, en l'honneur du prêtre d'Apollon Ammonios des Pambôtades, dont le commanditaire n'est pas la cité athénienne mais Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατοικοῦντες καὶ παρεπιδημοῦντες ἐν Δήλωι.

16 Voir ainsi, à Éleusis, le célèbre monument du prêtre Lakrateidès (*IG* II² 4701 = *I.Eleusis* 239) (dédicace du peuple pour le prêtre Aristokratès de Phalère sur un cippe du milieu du IVe siècle), les statues de l'exégète des Eumolpides Apollônios et du hiérophante Ménékleidès, toutes deux érigées par leur femme (respectivement *IG* II² 3487 = *I.Eleusis* 241 et *IG* II² 3512 = *I.Eleusis* 242), ou encore la statue de la prêtresse de Déméter et Korè Ameinokleia, consacrée par ses deux fils (*IG* II² 3495 = *I.Eleusis* 268)

17 À Athènes : *IG* II² 3490 = *I.Eleusis* 275 (dédicace du conseil et du peuple pour l'exégète des Eumolpides Médeios du Pirée) ; 3509–3511 = *I.Eleusis* 298 et 300–301, (bases de statue du Peuple pour le dadouque Thémistoklès d'Hagnonte et certains membres de sa famille). À Délos : *ID* 1624 bis (dédicace du peuple d'Athènes et des habitants de l'île pour le prêtre d'Apollon à vie Zénon de Marathon).

bre de documents qui honorent une catégorie de personnages dont on connaît l'importance dans la cité, surtout si on compare cette situation avec la masse des décrets en l'honneur des prytanes ou pour les éphèbes et le personnel du gymnase[18]. Y aurait-il là la marque d'une moindre attention aux prêtres ? Nous ne le croyons pas.

D'abord parce que les marques d'honneur dont ont pu bénéficier les prêtres ne se limitent pas à des décrets : ceux-ci n'en constituent qu'une expression parmi d'autres, qui les formalise en les inscrivant dans la pierre ou dans le marbre, alors que l'on sait bien que les pratiques épigraphiques témoignent de situations très diverses et qu'elles évoluent dans le temps. En particulier, nombre d'honneurs votés dans les assemblées ne furent jamais gravés, mais simplement proclamés ; d'autres nous sont connus par des dédicaces officielles ou de « simples » bases de statues dont on ne peut imaginer qu'elles furent érigées sans l'accord formel de l'assemblée et des autorités publiques[19].

D'autre part, il faut signaler que parmi tous les documents qui nous sont parvenus s'individualise nettement un dossier, que nous ont conservé les hasards des prospections archéologiques : il s'agit de celui que constituent les décrets en l'honneur des prêtres d'Asclépios et Hygie à Athènes. Ceux-ci forment une série exceptionnelle, qui a déjà été rassemblée et évoquée comme telle[20], mais qui nous permet d'envisager de manière plus générale la façon dont les prêtres pouvaient être honorés à Athènes à la basse époque hellénistique. La série se compose d'un total de dix textes et déborde très largement de la période étudiée ici, puisque les premiers documents remontent à l'époque d'Alexandre le Grand[21] et que d'autres s'échelonnent entre le milieu du III^e^ siècle et le début du II^e^ siècle[22], mais la majorité des décrets peuvent être datés entre 165/4 et 94/3[23]. En l'état, ce dossier témoigne non seulement de la place reconnue du prêtre dans la société athénienne, mais surtout de la continuité d'une pratique au-delà des vicissitudes de l'histoire athé-

---

18 Les décrets concernant les prytanes sont réunis dans Dow 1937, ceux en l'honneur des éphèbes et du personnel d'encadrement de l'éphébie dans Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 199–242 (pour une étude prosopographique de ce personnel voir Perrin-Saminadayar 2007a).

19 Voir *supra*. Sur le vote des statues à Athènes à l'époque hellénistique et le contrôle exercé par les autorités civiques : Perrin-Saminadayar 2004.

20 Hubbe 1959, qui rassemble treize textes [il faut enlever de cette série, le n° 1, *IG* II² 304+604, décret en provenance du sanctuaire d'Asclépios, mais qui n'honore pas son prêtre, le n° 4, *IG* II² 1293, décret des Asclépiastes, ainsi que le n° 9, *IG* II² 1019, qui concerne le sanctuaire d'Asclépios, mais n'est pas un décret en l'honneur du prêtre].

21 *IG* II² 354 (328/7).

22 *IG* II² 775 (milieu III^e^ s.) ; 1293 (milieu III^e^ s.) ; 820 (ca. 190–170) ; 996 (173/2).

23 Cf. Annexe 1, n° 3–8.

nienne. Si l'on n'a pas la chance de pouvoir posséder de dossier comparable pour d'autres sacerdoces, il me semble que le dossier des prêtres d'Asclépios offre un démenti radical et suffisant à l'idée selon laquelle les Athéniens auraient tenu leurs prêtres en piètre estime et à celle selon laquelle cette estime se serait moins nettement manifestée à la basse époque hellénistique. Bien au contraire.

Un décret athénien de Délos confirme cette impression : il honore collectivement les prêtres de Délos (οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἐν Δήλωι) en fonction dans l'île l'année de l'archontat de Phaidrias (153/2)[24]. Il s'agit là d'un *unicum*, mais étant donné le tout petit nombre de décrets athéniens concernant la colonie athénienne qui nous sont parvenus, on peut considérer qu'il constitue un bel exemple révélateur : les autres décrets conservés concernent des magistrats athéniens en charge de l'administration de l'île (épimélètes, agoranomes, gymnasiarques)[25], c'est-à-dire des personnes elles aussi détentrices d'une délégation de pouvoir (*archè*) de la part de la métropole. On observera que, quand il s'agit d'un collège (agoranomes, épimélètes de l'emporion), les magistrats sont honorés collectivement comme le sont les prêtres de 153/2. À chaque fois, c'est seulement au moment où l'on aborde les honneurs, en particulier l'annonce des éloges et des couronnes, et non dès les considérants, que le nom des personnages honorés apparaît : c'est bien la preuve que les honneurs sont rendus aux prêtres ou aux magistrats ès qualité et de manière systématique, plus que pour des mérites particuliers ; pour les prêtres, le décret délien n'indique même pas le nom du dieu servi par chacun des titulaires de sacerdoce qu'il honore. Mais avant d'aller plus loin, il faut revenir plus en détail sur les considérants des décrets de façon à mieux cerner ce qui a pu motiver les honneurs.

2. Activités des prêtres motivant les honneurs et nature des honneurs.

D'une manière générale, on reste frappé par le vague des considérants. Le décret concernant les prêtres de Délos se contente d'une formule très générale rappelant que les prêtres ont bien accompli « au nom du

24 *ID* 1499.

25 Épimélète de l'île : *SEG* 48.1040 (décret pour Ophélas de Batè [le décret n'est pas un décret d'Athènes, mais un décret des Athéniens de l'île – qui dut toutefois être ratifié par la métropole]). Agoranomes : *ID* 1500 (décret pour trois agoranomes et leur secrétaire) ; 1505 (décret pour deux agoranomes). Gymnasiarques : *ID* 1504 (décret pour Gorgias des Iônides) ; *SEG* 47.1218 (décret pour Pausanias de Mélitè). Épimélètes de l'emporion : *ID* 1507.

conseil et du peuple d'Athènes, des enfants et des femmes, du peuple de Rome, ainsi que des résidents athéniens à Délos » les sacrifices qui leur incombaient et qu'ils se sont comporté de belle (καλῶς) et digne (εὐσχημόνως) manière dans le reste de leur mission (ἀρχή)[26]. On peut comprendre que le texte n'entre pas dans les détails, étant donné la diversité des tâches qui relevaient de chacune des prêtrises, honorées ici globalement. Cette formulation confirme bien l'impression que l'on avait au départ d'avoir affaire à des honneurs de routine, qui récompensent le bon accomplissement selon la tradition de rituels eux aussi de routine : l'éloge et la couronne de feuillage viennent sanctionner une activité « ordinaire » du personnel religieux de l'année.

On a le même sentiment en observant la majorité des textes trouvés à Athènes. Le décret en l'honneur du prêtre de Zeus Sôter au Pirée fait suite à un rapport du prêtre annonçant la bonne nouvelle des sacrifices accomplis grâce aux victimes qu'il a fournies ὡς ὅτι κάλλιστα[27]. On retrouve ici une formulation identique à celle que l'on rencontre dans les premiers décrets pour les prêtres d'Asclépios, mais dans ces derniers documents, le reste du texte donne, parfois, quelques détails supplémentaires : il est ici encore question d'un rapport présenté avant le Conseil (πρόσοδον ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὴμ βουλήν[28]), des sacrifices accomplis « conformément aux décrets » (τὰς θυσίας ἁπάσας τέθυκεν κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα[29]), du bon comportement digne et conforme du prêtre (πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἁρμόττουσαν τεῖ ἱερωσύνει[30]), mais les textes évoquent aussi le soin mis dans la parure du sanctuaire : ἐπιμεμέληται δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ εὐκοσμίας[31]. Ces formulations restent encore très générales, au point que l'on peut sans grande difficulté les restituer dans les textes mutilés des années suivantes[32]. En retour, l'activité des prêtres d'Asclépios ou de Zeus Sôter au Pirée leur vaut les mêmes honneurs que ceux réservés aux prêtres athéniens des divinités déliennes, à savoir éloge public et couronne de feuillage. Sur ce plan encore, on n'a pas le sentiment d'un traitement différent – un traitement de faveur – à leur égard.

Les choses semblent changer au début des années 130 *a.* C. : à cette date les textes deviennent plus longs et les considérants sont également beaucoup plus détaillés. Ainsi en 137/6, année pour laquelle le texte est

26 *ID* 1499.3–8.
27 *IG* II² 950.7–9.
28 *IG* II² 950.6–7.
29 *IG* II² 950.11–12.
30 *IG* II² 950.12–13.
31 *IG* II² 950.10–11.
32 Ainsi dans *SEG* 18.24 (dont on n'a conservé que la fin des considérants).

le mieux conservé, la nature des rituels organisés et/ou réalisés par le prêtre *Untel*, fils de Nikokratès de Phlya, le cadre et les bénéficiaires des sacrifices sont décrits avec davantage de précisions[33] ; de même, le texte indique avec un peu plus d'insistance le soin mis par le prêtre dans l'entretien du sanctuaire[34]. Ces précisions ne témoignent pas pour autant d'un engagement supérieur du prêtre cette année-là ; tout au plus peut-on y voir un changement des habitudes épigraphiques, que l'on remarque également pour d'autres catégories de décrets athéniens, les décrets éphébiques en l'honneur des éphèbes comme de leurs maîtres, par exemple : dans ces documents, les considérants s'allongent et deviennent de plus en plus complexes précisément à partir des années 130, sans que les activités des éphèbes et les services rendus par le cosmète et les maîtres ne soient très sensiblement différents de ceux de leurs prédécesseurs ; les honneurs dont les uns et les autres bénéficient restent d'ailleurs strictement les mêmes[35].

S'il s'inscrit ainsi dans une certaine continuité avec les textes de la période précédente, le décret en l'honneur du fils de Nikokratès de Phlya n'en marque pas moins un tournant car de nombreux nouveaux éléments font leur apparition pour la première fois dans ce document, qui laissent entrevoir une évolution : tout d'abord, le prêtre a « offert » sa propre fille comme canéphore pour les *Épidauria* et a institué son fils cleidouque et *pyrphoros* pour les cérémonies quotidiennes[36] ; en second lieu, « désireux de renforcer les honneurs envers les dieux et la sauvegarde de la cité, il a procédé au sacrifice d'un taureau de belle et digne manière »[37] et a organisé une pannychie exceptionnelle[38], allant ainsi au-delà de ses obligations rituelles ; ensuite, la fin des considérants, très

33 *IG* II² 974.7–16 : [ἐπειδὴ Λεωνίδης] | Νικοκ[ράτου] Φλυεὺς ὁ γενόμεν[ος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄ|στ]ει τὸν ἐπὶ Τιμάρχου ἄρχοντος ἐν[ιαυτὸν τά τε εἰσιτητήρια ἔθυ|σ]εν καλῶς καὶ εὐσηβῶς τῶι Ἀσκλη[πιῶι καὶ τεῖ Ὑγιείαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλ]|λοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν καὶ ἐβουθύ[τησεν τοῖς τε Ἀσκληπιείοις] | καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἡρώιοις παρασ[τήσας θύματα ὡς κάλλιστα | κ]αὶ τὰς τούτων παννυχίδας συν[ετέλεσεν · θύσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ | τ]ῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παί[δων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ καλλιερή|σ]ας, ἐν ἅπασιν ἀπήγγειλεν τεῖ βο[υλεῖ γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ] | σωτήρια.

34 *IG* II² 974.25–27 : τοῦ τ[ε τεμένους τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ | καὶ] τῆς Ὑγιείας καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν [αὐτοῖς ca. 14 | ca. 4 τ]ὴν καθήκουσαν [ἐ]πι[μέ]λειαν ἐποιή[σατο].

35 Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 199–267.

36 *IG* II² 974.18–19 : ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα ca. 13 (*nomen*) εἰς τὰ] | Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρρηφοροῦσαν. Ibid., 23 : [καταστήσας] | δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑὸν Δῖον κλειδοῦχον κα[ὶ πυρφόρον] κτλ. Voir le commentaire de Mikalson 1998 : 266 : « That the priest should appoint his own children to these roles is a sign of the times ».

37 *IG* II² 974.19–21 : βουλόμ[ενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον αὔξειν τὰς] | πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμὰς καὶ τὴν τ[ῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ἐβουθύτη]|σεν καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ταῦρον. Voir aussi, fragment d, l. 15 : [χ]ρυσῶν.

38 *IG* II² 974.22 : καὶ παννυχίδα συνετέλεσεν παρθ[ενικῶι χορῶι].

mutilée, laisse entrevoir une autre action du prêtre pour laquelle il a agi ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, sans qu'on puisse déterminer la nature de cette action, qu'on doit pouvoir mettre en relation avec la parure du sanctuaire ou la fourniture de victimes[39] ; enfin, on peut également déduire de la partie inférieure droite du document, elle aussi extrêmement mutilée, qu'il s'intéressa à des constructions (οἰκοδο[μ--])[40]. Au total, il semble clair que le prêtre est allé au-delà des obligations de sa charge dans plusieurs domaines, qu'il s'agisse des sacrifices accomplis, de son investissement personnel ou de son engagement financier. C'est ce qui justifie des considérants plus développés que d'ordinaire. Cet investissement personnel supérieur à ce qui était d'ordinaire attendu d'un détenteur d'une *archè*, qu'elle soit politique ou religieuse, se retrouve dans nombre d'autres domaines de la vie publique, chez les cosmètes, les agonothètes, les gymnasiarques ou les magistrats en charge de l'administration de la colonie délienne.

Malheureusement le texte ne nous a pas conservé les honneurs reçus par le prêtre et ses enfants, et il est impossible de savoir si les honneurs de routine, l'éloge et la couronne, seuls accordés d'ordinaire aux prêtres, furent accompagnés d'autres marques de reconnaissance ou d'estime que le simple droit de voir gravés sur la pierre les hauts faits du prêtre. Cela étant, un autre texte, de peu postérieur au décret pour le fils de Nikokratès de Phlya, en l'honneur d'un autre prêtre d'Asclépios, Diôn, montre qu'en plus de la couronne et de l'éloge, le prêtre pourra bénéficier « de tout autre marque de reconnaissance dont il sera jugé digne » (δεδ[οσ|θ]αι δὲ αὐτ[ῶι καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ὅτου ἂν ᾖ ἄξιος])[41] : les considérants ne sont conservés que sur la partie gauche de la stèle, mais l'on en sait assez pour constater que, si Diôn semble s'être moins investi que le fils de Nikokratès dans sa tâche, il le fit toutefois davantage que la moyenne des autres prêtres, puisque lui aussi a mobilisé son fils comme cleidouque et s'est acquitté d'une somme d'argent dont le montant en drachmes est malheureusement perdu[42]. Il est donc tentant de conclure qu'à services sortant de l'ordinaire correspondent des honneurs sortant de l'ordinaire : le fils de Nikokratès aurait reçu lui aussi, comme son successeur Diôn, davantage de marques d'estime de la collectivité à mesure des services rendus. Mais on notera que le supplément d'honneur accordé à ces prêtres de la fin du IIe siècle et du début du Ier siècle *a. C.* transparaît dans des formules qui restent vagues

39 *IG* II² 974.33.

40 *IG* II² 974.d.17–18.

41 *IG* II² 975+1061 = *SEG* 18.27.29–30.

42 *IG* II² 975+1061 = *SEG* 18.27.12–14 (fils comme cleidouque) ; 16–17 (versement d'une somme d'argent).

et qui en font une simple éventualité, le bénéficiaire devant se charger de proposer les honneurs supplémentaires et de les rendre effectifs[43].

Cette inflation que l'on peut constater tant dans les domaines d'intervention des prêtres que dans les marques d'honneur qu'ils reçoivent en retour se retrouve chez les autres catégories de personnages publics honorés dans les décrets de la cité athénienne, par exemple les décrets éphébiques[44]. Il y a là une tendance que l'on peut qualifier de lourde, qui noie quelque peu les prêtres au milieu d'autres notables, et qui fait des prêtrises des fonctions comme les autres, reconnues et honorées comme telles : dans la colonie délienne, où l'on a la chance de posséder un exemplaire de décret pour plusieurs catégories de personnages (un hoplomaque, des épimélètes du port, des agoranomes, des gymnasiarques, un épimélète de l'île…), on ne perçoit aucune différence de traitement significative, sauf à l'intérieur d'une même catégorie, quand furent rendus des services exceptionnels qui purent justifier une demande d'honneurs moins routiniers ; il en allait exactement de même dans la métropole, comme le montre l'exemple des agonothètes des *Théseia* : la plupart d'entre eux ne reçoivent que couronne et éloge[45] ; seul Miltiade de Marathon reçoit un traitement de faveur[46] ; il faut dire qu'il avait dépensé sans compter pendant son agonothésie, ce que rappelle d'ailleurs un autre décret, récapitulatif de sa carrière, quelques années plus tard, ainsi qu'une base de statue, œuvre d'Eucheir et Euboulidès, érigée par le Peuple et le Conseil[47].

D'autres décrets permettent de mesurer le rôle que les prêtrises ont eu dans la carrière de certains grands personnages de la cité. Parmi tous ces textes on citera en particulier le décret des clérouques athéniens de Délos en l'honneur d'Euboulos, fils de Démétrios de Mara-

---

43 Le décret *SEG* 48.1218 donne une très bonne idée de la procédure, lorsque la demande a eu lieu en amont, c'est-à-dire avant le vote du décret : le gymnasiarque Pausanias de Mélité a demandé le droit d'ériger un monument commémoratif dans le gymnase de Délos, ainsi qu'un emplacement pour que soit érigé son portrait. C'est le décret honorifique qui répond à ces demandes (l. 45–47). On comparera, par ailleurs, cet honneur exceptionnel que reçoit Pausanias pour services exceptionnels, avec ceux, plus ordinaires, d'un de ses successeurs, Gorgias des Iônides, qui se contenta de la couronne et de l'éloge (*ID* 1504.37–38) : ce dernier n'avait fait « que » son travail.

44 Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 256–259.

45 *IG* II² 956.28–30 ; 957.16–18, etc.

46 *IG* II² 958.24–29.

47 *IG* II² 968 (décret) ; 3867 (statue). Dans le décret, seule la partie gauche des considérants est partiellement préservée, et il est impossible de reconstituer précisément la carrière de Miltiade. Sur ce personnage et sa famille, voir Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 331.

thon, décret qui dut être ratifié par l'ecclésia athénienne ensuite[48]. Dans les considérants, le texte rappelle d'abord l'exercice de nombreuses magistratures (τὰς ἀρχας ἐφ' ἃς ἐχειροτονήθη) ; il évoque ensuite les missions comme archithéore pour les *Panathénées*, ainsi que les nombreuses ambassades (πρεσβεύσας πλεόνακις) remplies au nom des clérouques[49] ; les prêtrises exercées constituent enfin une troisième (et dernière) catégorie (Euboulos a exercé celle des Grands dieux, puis celle d'Asclépios, et enfin celle de Dionysos)[50]. Les prêtrises forment donc bien une catégorie bien identifiée pour justifier les honneurs décernés, ici au terme d'une carrière bien remplie au service de la cité. L'on remarquera toutefois que dans la carrière d'Euboulos, ce sont les seules fonctions qui sont nommément mentionnées ; mais s'il en est ainsi, c'est parce qu'elles ont toutes été exercées à Délos, où le personnage est honoré ; elles semblent même, *in fine*, avoir motivé les honneurs, puisque dans les couronnes qui suivent le décret, c'est « le prêtre des Grand dieux » (deux fois), « le prêtre de Dionysos » et « le prêtre d'Asclépios » qui est effectivement mentionné *ès qualité*, non Euboulos.

Il reste donc à se demander si ce « traitement » au final tout à fait identique à celui réservé aux autres détenteurs d'une *archè* dans la cité s'explique par la nature du regard que dernière portait sur les fonctions sacerdotales – c'est-à-dire pour des raisons strictement *fonctionnelles* – ou par la grande porosité entre le milieu dans lequel le personnel religieux était recruté et celui d'où provenait le personnel politique de la cité athénienne à la basse époque hellénistique – c'est-à-dire pour des raisons plus *sociales*. Pour ce faire, il faut passer par un petit détour prosopographique.

3. Approche prosopographique du personnel religieux mentionné dans les décrets.

À Délos.

Le décret retrouvé à Délos *ID* 1499, présente, pour 153/2, neuf noms de prêtres, sans préciser leur patronyme, ni la divinité que chacun était chargé de servir ; Pierre Roussel a très tôt suggéré qu'il s'agissait des principales divinités de l'île recevant un culte public que mentionne un

48 *ID* 1498.

49 *ID* 1498.6–8 (magistratures) ; 8–14 (archithéorie) ; 14 (ambassades).

50 *ID* 1498.17–22 : ἱερεύς τε γενόμενος τῶμ Μεγάλων Θεῶν | καὶ πάλιν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ πάλιν αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ | δήμου καὶ λαχὼν τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πάσ<α>ς | δαπανήσας τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίλων καὶ Ρωμαίων καλῶς καὶ ἱεροπρεπῶ<ς> συνετέλεἰσεν.

texte officiel de peu antérieur[51] ; mais l'on ne s'explique pas que ce texte mentionne dix prêtrises et non neuf (comme sur le décret)[52], ni que, d'autre part, le décret ne respecte pas l'ordre protocolaire de la liste officielle[53]. À ces neuf noms, on ajoutera le nom d'Euboulos de Marathon, qui, on l'a vu, exerça au moins trois prêtrises sur l'île.

Pour tous ces personnages l'enquête prosopographique aboutit à des résultats dans six cas sur dix, ce qui est un résultat très honorable[54]. Elle permet d'établir que les prêtres athéniens de Délos étaient choisis parmi les résidents athéniens sur l'île, puisque tous ne sont connus qu'à Délos. Parmi les plus actifs d'entre eux, Gorgias, fils d'Asklépiadès des Iônides, est connu comme gymnasiarque et comme agoranome à Délos (et les hasards de la documentation ont même voulu que l'on ait conservé, dans les deux cas, les décrets votés pour l'honorer[55]) ; une dédicace en son honneur, que l'on doit à sa famille et au *démos* athénien, rappelle également, outre ses fonctions d'ambassadeur, qu'il s'est vu honoré d'une statue[56] ; lui-même est l'auteur de plusieurs dédicaces et figure sur un catalogue de donateurs sur l'île[57] ; et l'on a même retrouvé sa sépulture à Rhénée[58].

De cette carrière entièrement consacrée à l'administration de Délos, on retiendra que, chronologiquement, la prêtrise (153/2) a constitué la première étape, et qu'elle a précédé la charge d'agoranome (151/0), puis celle de gymnasiarque (148/7). Il est tentant de voir là une sorte de *cursus honorum* local, qui placerait la prêtrise au premier échelon d'une carrière ; pourtant, nous pensons qu'il est prudent de ne pas céder à cette tentation, dans la mesure où, si Gorgias présente un profil assez proche de celui déjà vu d'Euboulos de Marathon – avec l'exercice de magistratures, la conduite d'ambassades et des fonctions sacerdotales –, on se souvient que dans le cas de ce dernier, l'ordre chronologique, que le décret n'a pas la prétention de respecter, semble toutefois placer les

51 *ID* 2605. Roussel 19872 [19161] : 201–202.

52 Durrbach 1922 : 129 suggère toutefois que le prêtre d'Apollon, « supérieur en dignité à ses collègues », ne figurait pas parmi les neuf prêtres d'*ID* 1499, car il bénéficiait d'un décret pour lui seul. Aucun document ne permet de conforter cette hypothèse.

53 Nous déduisons ce point à partir de la place qu'occupe Πυλάδης Περιθοίδης dans le décret (la dernière) : si notre identification du personnage avec le prêtre d'Artémis homonyme, fils d'Aischriôn des Périthoïdes, mentionné sur une dédicace (*ID* 2374.3) est juste et si le décret avait respecté un ordre « protocolaire », alors Pyladès aurait figuré en cinquième position (comme dans *ID* 2605.16–17).

54 Voir la prosopographie en Annexe II.

55 *ID* 1504 (gymnasiarque) et 1500 (agoranome).

56 *ID* 1979.

57 *ID* 1833.5 ; 2021–2022 (dédicaces). *ID* 2611.B 13 (donateur)

58 *EAD* 30.79.

prêtrises à la fin du cursus de l'*honorandus*, en tout cas à un niveau qui ne se situe pas en deçà des autres fonctions exercées[59].

À côté de Gorgias et d'Euboulos, il faut aussi signaler l'engagement des autres prêtres à Délos : un autre a proposé un décret pour un des maîtres du gymnase ; deux sont encore connus dans des transactions financières sur l'île. On a donc bien affaire à des notables installés avec leur famille sur l'île, mais si l'exercice d'une des prêtrises publiques déliennes que les Athéniens ont reprises à leur compte dès leur prise de possession de l'île a participé de leur notoriété, on ne peut en faire un simple préalable à une carrière politique brillante. L'on notera aussi que l'exercice des prêtrises est vécu par ceux qui en acceptent la charge comme celui d'une magistrature (une *archè*, une délégation de la puissance publique), à bien des égards identique aux magistratures politiques ou économiques, non comme une vocation particulière.

À Athènes.

À Athènes, les décrets honorifiques en l'honneur de prêtres ne nous ont conservé que quelques noms de prêtres, quatre au total, mais ici encore, il ne fait aucun doute que les personnages qui ont exercé des fonctions sacerdotales appartiennent au milieu des notables[60]. On retrouve ainsi parmi eux des donateurs, des magistrats, des personnages très impliqués dans la vie de la cité. De ce point de vue là, notre tout petit échantillon confirme très largement ce que l'on retrouve dans toutes les études prosopographiques relatives aux familles qui ont fourni à la cité des prêtres et des prêtresses[61].

Mais notre documentation permet de mettre en évidence que la prêtrise ne peut pas être considérée comme un marchepied vers la notabilité, ou comme un faire-valoir secondaire en attendant des fonctions prestigieuses : ainsi le prêtre d'Asclépios, Protagoras de Pergasè, appartient-il à une famille très bien connue sur plusieurs générations, qui a déjà fait ses preuves[62] ; surtout, un catalogue de donateurs des environs de 180 *a. C.*, nous apprend qu'à cette date, Protagoras est déjà un notable capable de verser une somme colossale de 3000 drachmes lors d'une *épidosis* pour lui-même et pour son frère Nikètès[63] ; il n'est

59 Euboulos n'est plus en fonction à la date du décret (158/7), qui est aussi celle de la liste *ID* 2605.

60 Trois cas concernent des prêtres d'Asclépios (déjà étudiés par Aleshire 1991 ; cf. aussi Parker 1996 : 269), le dernier le prêtre de Zeus Sôter au Pirée. Voir la prosopographie en Annexe II, pour le détail.

61 Tracy 1982, Aleshire 1991, Karila-Cohen 2003, Perrin-Saminadayar 2005 et 2007.

62 Aleshire 1991 : 175–178.

63 *IG* II² 2333. I 1–3.

honoré dans un décret comme prêtre d'Asclépios qu'en 165/4 ; il est clair que, dans ce cas au moins, c'est à un âge avancé qu'il accéda à la prêtrise.

La remarque vaut également pour un autre prêtre d'Asclépios resté partiellement anonyme, fils de Nikokratès de Phlya, honoré en 137/6. L'enquête prosopographique montre que le père du prêtre de 138/7 est à identifier avec Νικοκράτης Ζωίλου Φλυεύς, éphèbe auteur d'une dédicace sous l'archontat de Tychandros, longtemps daté de 160/59, mais aujourd'hui remonté d'une génération (en 196/5)[64]. On peut donc en conclure que le prêtre, né autour de 185 était âgé de près de cinquante ans lorsqu'il fut honoré. En clair, la prêtrise d'Asclépios ne fut jamais confiée à des « débutants ». Même lorsqu'ils ne mentionnent pas expressément les noms des desservants du dieu, les textes de la basse époque hellénistique montrent d'ailleurs fréquemment le prêtre en mesure de fournir pour le service du dieu qui un fils, qui une fille, qui les deux[65].

L'exemple de Protagoras apporte une dernière précieuse information : les prêtres d'Asclépios appartiennent à des familles où la tradition de prendre en charge des prêtrises est forte. En effet, le père du prêtre a été épimélète des *Mystères* d'Éleusis en 215/4[66], et sa petite-fille est connue comme prêtresse d'Athéna à la fin du II^e^ siècle[67], caractéristique que l'on retrouve dans nombre de familles très influentes qui ont construit leurs stratégies familiales autour de l'exercice des prêtrises[68].

Que conclure sur le statut des prêtres à Athènes à la basse époque hellénistique, à partir des informations que les décrets votés en leur honneur nous apportent ? Dès lors que l'on dépasse la déception initiale que constitue la relative faiblesse de la documentation, on aboutit à plusieurs remarques intéressantes :

---

64 Sur cette dédicace, IG II2 2981. A voir en dernier lieu, Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 46, avec les renvois en notes pour l'établissement de la date.

65 *IG* II² 974.18–19 : ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα ca. 13 (*nomen*) εἰς τὰ] | Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρρηφοροῦσαν. Ibid., 23 : [καταστήσας] | δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑὸν Δῖον κλειδοῦχον κα[ὶ πυρφόρον] κτλ. *IG* II² 975+1061 = *SEG* 18.27.12–14 : [κατέσ]τησεν δὲ καὶ τὸν [ὑὸν *nomen* κλειδοῦ]χον τοῦ θεοῦ ; etc.

66 *IG* II² 847.44.

67 *IG* II² 1136. 7, 12 et 27–32 ; 3484–3485.

68 Perrin-Saminadayar 2005. Comme l'a justement rappelé S. B. Aleshire (Aleshire 1991 : 176), la famille de Protagoras a noué une alliance matrimoniale avec une autre famille influente du dème des Eupyrides, que l'on retrouve à Athènes et à Délos, mais aussi parmi les pythaïstes athéniens à Delphes (pour une étude de cette branche de la famille, voir Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 363–364 et Karila-Cohen 2003) : elle adopte le même type de comportement que les familles étudiées dans Perrin-Saminadayar 2005.

– d'une part, il semble clair que les prêtres athéniens étaient considérés exactement comme les autres détenteurs d'une *archè* dans la cité, c'est-à-dire qu'ils n'étaient ni mis sur un piédestal, ni tenus à l'écart, mais honorés en proportion des responsabilités qui étaient les leurs et des services qu'ils avaient rendus sans excès ni négligence. Les honneurs exceptionnels (statues, portraits…) sont dus à des initiatives privées, essentiellement familiales.

– d'autre part, cette situation s'explique par le recrutement des prêtres parmi des personnages impliqués dans les autres domaines de la vie publique, dont les qualités étaient déjà connues, en accord avec des stratégies familiales bien déterminées.

– enfin, on notera que notre documentation ne montre aucune différence de recrutement ni de comportement ni de traitement entre les prêtres « athéniens » de la clérouquie délienne et ceux de la métropole.

4.1 Annexe I

Liste des décrets honorifiques athéniens
en l'honneur de prêtres ou de prêtresses (167–88)

1. *IG* II² 950 : décret en l'honneur du prêtre d'Asclépios (165/4).
2. *IG* II² 783 : décret en l'honneur du prêtre de Zeus Sôter du Pirée (163/2).
3. *ID* 1499 : décret en l'honneur de prêtres athéniens de Délos (153/2).
4. *SEG* XVIII, 24 : décret en l'honneur du prêtre d'Asclépios (160–140).
5. *IG* II² 974 : décret en l'honneur du prêtre d'Asclépios (137/6).
6. *IG* II² 975+1061 : décret en l'honneur du prêtre d'Asclépios (*ca.* 112–110).
7. *IG* II² 976 : décret en l'honneur du prêtre d'Asclépios (fin II^e s.).
8. *IG* II² 1033 : décret en l'honneur du prêtre d'Asclépios (94/3).

A. *ID* 1498 : décret en l'honneur d'Euboulos de Marathon (159/8 ?).
B. *SEG* XVI, 102 = *Ath. Ag.* XVI, 319 : peut-être un décret en l'honneur d'une prêtresse (126/5 ?).

4.2 Annexe II

Prosopographie des prêtres mentionnés dans les décrets honorifiques athéniens en l'honneur de prêtres ou de prêtresses (167–88)

Prêtres athéniens à Délos

• Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 17) : **Δρά[κ]ων Φλυεύς** (*LGPN* 9/8)
– *ID* 1417.C.96–97 : Δράκων Δράκοντος Φλυεύς (garant pour Protéas de Milet)

Cf. : **Δράκων Φλυεύς** (*LGPN* 10)
IG II² 2336 (Tracy 42) : Δράκων (prêtre de Sarapis ἐν Δήλωι, 103/2).
ID 2129.6–7 : Δράκων Φλυεύς (prêtre de Sarapis, 103/2).
ID 2156.5 : Δράκων (prêtre de Sarapis, 103/2)
Cf. : **Κοσμὼ Δράκοντος Φλυέως** (*LGPN* 1/10)
ID 2156.5–6 : Κοσμὼ τῆς Δρά[κον]το[ς] Φλυέως θυγατ[ήρ] (canéphore de Sarapis, 103/2).

• Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 17–18) : **Γοργίας Ἰωνίδης** (*LGPN* 34/112)
– *ID* 1500.6, 26 : [Γοργίας Ἀ]σκληπιάδου Ἰωνίδης (agoranome honoré d'un décret avec ses collègues, 151/0)
– ID 1833.5 : Γοργίας Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἰωνίδης (dédicace avec ses collègues agoranomes, 151/0)
– *ID* 1504.37, 43 et 65–66 : Γοργία[ς Ἀσκληπιάδου] Ἰωνίδης (gymnasiarque honoré d'un décret (148/7)
– *ID* 1952.7 : Γοργίας τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἰωνίδου (gymnasiarque, 148/7)
– *ID* 1979.1–3 : Γοργίας [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδου Ἰωνίδης (honoré d'une statue par ses enfants ; couronne du peuple qui l'a honoré comme ambassadeur et comme gymnasiarque)
– *ID* 2021–2022 : [Γ]οργίας [Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἰω]νίδ[ης] (auteur d'une dédicace à Apollon et Létô)
– *ID* 2589.25 : [Γο]ργίας Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἰωνίδης (catalogue, gymnasiarque, 148/7)
– *ID* 2611.B 13 : Γοργίας Ἀ[σ]κληπιάδου] (catalogue de donateurs)
– *EAD* 30.79 (sépulture)

Cf. : **Κλειτοφῶν Γοργίου Ἰωνίδης** (*LGPN* 13/35)

ID 2255.10: Κλειτοφῶν τοῦ Γοργίου Ἰωνίδου (ἐπὶ τὰ ἱεράν, 90/89). À Délos, le nom Κλειτοφῶν est bien connu dans le dème dans deux autres (?) familles (*LGPN* 10–12).
Cf. : **Ἀσκληπιάδης Δικαίου Ἰωνίδης** (*LGPN* 113/9)
ID 2158.1–3: Ἀσκληπιάδης Δικαίου [Ἀθηναῖος] (auteur d'une dédicace à Isis, 92/1?).
ID 2599.6–7 : Ἀσκληπιάδης Δικαίου [Ἰωνίδης] (éphèbe, 104/3).

- Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 18) : **Ληναῖος Ἕρμειος** (*LGPN* 14)

- Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 18–19) : **Σαραπίων Παμβωτάδης** (*LGPN* 32/35)
  – *ID* 1416.B.II, 71, 80, 82, 8 : Σαραπίων Ἀμμωνίου Παμβωτάδης (bénéficiaire d'un prêt hypothécaire, 153/2)
  – *ID* 1442.A.25 : [Σαραπίων Ἀμμωνίου Πα]μβωτάδης (dédicace d'un τύπιον dans le sanctuaire égyptien avant 145/4).
  – *ID* 1452.A.40 : Σαραπίων Ἀμμωνίου Παμβωτάδης (dédicace d'un τύπιον dans le sanctuaire égyptien avant 145/4).

  Cf. : **[Ἀμμώνιο]ς Σαραπίωνος Παμβωτάδης** (*LGPN* [35?]/31)
  IG II² 820+*SEG* 18.20.9 : [Ἀμμώνιο]ς Σαραπίωνος Παμβωτάδης (prêtre d'Asclépios honoré d'un décret, 179/8–160/59). Cf. Aleshire 1989 : 83 (*stemma* de la famille : 84 d'ap. Dow 1937 : 222).
  Cf. : **Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Παμβωτάδης** (*LGPN* 36/35)
  ID 1416.B.II 88–89 : Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Παμβωτάδης (garant d'un prêt hypothécaire d'un parent).
  IG II² 2317.48: Ἀμμώνιο[ς] Ἀμμωνίο[υ] (vainqueur aux Panathénées, 157/6 ou 153/2) ?
  ID 2589.17 : Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίο[υ] Παμβωτάδης (gymnasiarque en 156/5).
  Cf. : **Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Παμβωτάδης** (*LGPN* 38/37)
  IG II² 2336 (= Tracy 1982 : 36–37) : Ἀμμώνιος Παμβωτάδης (Prêtre d'Apollon, 103/2).
  ID 1656.1 : Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Παμβωτάδης (prêtre d'Apollon honoré d'une statue).
  FD III2.228.4, 13 (Cf. *BCH* 57, 1933 : 83–86) : Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Ἀθηναῖος (honoré pour sa conduite à Delphes et sa piété à Délos envers le dieu, 102/1).
  IG XII5.837.2–3, 17 : Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου [Ἀθηναῖος] (honoré comme proxène des Téniens pour sa conduite comme théarodoque pour les *Délia*). Peut-être appartient-il à une autre famille (d'Anaphlystos).

• Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 19) : **Ἡρακλείδης Παμβωτάδης** (*LGPN* 132)

• Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 20) : **Πρωτογένης Παιανιεύς** (*LGPN* 39)

Cf. : **Πρωτογένης Πρωτογένου Παιανιεύς** (*LGPN* 41/40=39?)
ID 1923.7 : Πρωτογένης Πρωτογένου Παιανιεύς (éphèbe en 126/5).

• Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 20–21) : **Λεόντιχος Δεκελεεύς** (*LGPN* 10)

• Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 21) : **Στράτων Κηφισιεύς** (*LGPN* 69)

• Prêtre, *Honorandus* (l. 21–22) : **Πυλάδης Περιθοίδης** (*LGPN* 8/25)
– *ID* 1503.4–5 : Πυλάδης Αἰσχρίωνος Περιθ[οίδης] (met aux voix un décret, 148/7).
– *ID* 2374.3 : Πυλάδης τοῦ Αἰσχρίωνος Περιθοίδου (prêtre d'Artémis (en 153/2 ?).

Prêtres athéniens à Athènes

• Prêtre de Zeus Sôter au Pirée : **Λυκῖνος Νίκωνος Ἀλιμούσιος** (*IG* II² 783.5 ; *LGPN* 14/63, *PA* 9202/11103)

Cf. : **Ἄρειος Λυκίνου Ἀλιμούσιος**, son fils (*LGPN* 3/15=14)
ID 2589.45 : Ἄρειος Λυκίνου Ἀλιμούσιος (gymnasiarque à Délos en 132/1)

• Prêtre d'Asclépios à Athènes, 165/4 : **Πρωταγόρας Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν** (*IG* II² 950.6; *LGPN* 4/25, *PA* 12284/10757)
– *IG* II² 2333.I 1–3 : Πρωταγόρας Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν, donateur de 3000 drachmes pour lui-même et pour son frère Νικήτης Περγασῆθεν vers 180.

Sur la famille voir Aleshire 1991 : 175–178.

• Prêtre d'Asclépios à Athènes, 138/7 : **[----] Νικοκράτου Φλυεύς** (*IG* II² 974.87 ; *LGPN* –/37)

Tous les commentateurs ont identifié le prêtre honoré en 137/6 avec le Λεωνίδης Φλυεύς (Dinsmoor 1939 : 194–195, Hubbe 1959 : 189) que mentionne l'inventaire IX de l'*Asklépieion*, mais S. B. Aleshire a montré, avec de bons arguments chronologiques et épigraphiques, que l'identification était douteuse (Aleshire 1989 : 390–392).

Le père du prêtre de 138/7 est sans doute à identifier avec Νικοκράτης Ζωίλου Φλυεύς, éphèbe auteur d'une dédicace sous l'archontat de Tychandros, longtemps daté de 160/59, mais aujourd'hui remonté d'une génération (en 196/5)[69].

• Prêtre d'Asclépios à Athènes, fin du IIe s. : **Δίων Δίωνος** (*IG* II² 975.1 ; *LGPN* 16/15)

Aleshire 1991 : 111, suggère de l'identifier avec un éphèbe homonyme de 106/5, pythaïste à Delphes (*FD*, III, 2, 25, II, 13 = Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 319, E-406, *LGPN* 20/19), mais le nom est très courant à Athènes, et la date du texte, située *ca.* 110 par Tracy 1990 : 201, n'autorise guère cette identification.

4.3 Annexe III

Textes à l'appui

[1.] **Decret en l'honneur du pretre de Zeus Soter du Piree.** Musée du Pirée, inv. ? Haut d'une stèle de marbre gris surmontée d'un fronton mouluré, cassée à g. et en bas, trouvée au Pirée. H. : 0,40 ; l. : 0,43 ; ép. : 0,10. Lettres : 0,01. Non *stoichedon*. Graveur : graveur de « *IG* II² 783 » (*ALC* : 143).

Ed. pr. : *Ἀθήναιον* 9 (1880) : 234–235, n° 2 (Koumanoudis).
Rééd. : *IG* add. 373c (Koehler). *IG* II² 783 (Kirchner).
Cf. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3 (1934) : 27–28 (l. 1–3) ; ph. : 30. *ALC* :143–144 ; ph. : 144.

163/2 *Non stoichedon, ca* 52–58

[Ἐπὶ Ἐράστου ἄρ]χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος πρυτανείας ἧι
[Δημήτριος Ξ]ένωνος Ἐπικηφίσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν βουλῆς ψηφίσματα ·
[Σκιροφοριῶν]ος ὀγδόει μετ' εἰκάδας, τρίτει καὶ εἰκοστεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας ·
[βουλὴ ἐμ Πει]<ρ>αιεῖ · τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Ζωΐλος Ζωίλου Φλυεὺς καὶ

69 Sur cette dédicace, *IG* II² 2981. A voir en dernier lieu, Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 : 46, avec les renvois en notes pour l'établissement de la date.

[συμπρόεδρο]ι · ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ · Λυκῖνος Νίκωνος Ἁλιμούσιος εἶπεν · ὑπ[ὲρ ὧν]
[ἀπαγγέλ]λει ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τοῦ ἐμ Πειραιεῖ καὶ οἱ ἐπιμ[ελητα]ὶ
[περὶ τῶν ἱ]ερῶν ὧν ἔθυον [τ]ῶι τε Διὶ τῶι Σωτῆρι καὶ τεῖ Ἀθηνᾶι τεῖ Σω[τείραι καὶ]
[τῶι Ἀσκληπ]ιῶι καὶ τεῖ Ὑγιείαι καὶ τοῖ[ς] ἄλ[λ]οις θεοῖς παραστήσα[ντες θύματα]
[ὡς ὅτι κάλλιστα · ἀγαθεῖ τύχει, δεδόχθαι τεῖ] βουλεῖ τὰ μὲν ἀγ[αθὰ δέχεσθαι]

Koumanoudis. || 1–2 *init.* Meritt || 3 Koehler, Meritt ; [Θαργηλιῶν]ος Kirchner (Johnson *per ep.*) || 4 *init.* BAIEI *lapis* ||7 τεῖ Ἀθηνᾶι *lapis*, τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι Kirchner || 8 *med.* EPS, το[ῖς ἄλλ]οις Kirchner.

[2.] Decret en l'honneur de Protagoras, pretre d'Asclepios. EM 7574. Stèle de marbre gris surmontée d'une moulure de 0,04 m, cassée en deux, trouvée entre le théâtre de Dionysos et l'Odéon d'Hérode Atticus. H. : 0,73 ; l. : 0,34 (h., sauf moulure 0,38) à 0,37 (b.) ; ép. : 0,065 (h., sauf moulure 0,1) à 0,075 (b.). Lettres : 0,006–0,007. Interligne : 0,008, puis 0,012. Non *stoichedon*. Graveur non identifié (*ALC* : 240).

Ed. pr. : *IG* add. 477b (Koehler) [Michel 689].
Rééd. : *IG* II² 950 (Kirchner). *Hesperia* 28 (1959) : 185–186, n° 7 (R. O. Hubbe ; ph. pl. 37) [*SEG* 18.22].
Cf. P. Roussel, *RA* 18 (1942) : 231–232 (l. 13) [*Bull. ép.* 1942, 33]. *ALC* : 235 (date). S. B. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens* : 175–177 (prêtre, *stemma*). J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in hellenistic Athens* : 265–266 (trad. anglaise).

165/4 *Non stoichedon, ca* 36–48

Ἐπὶ Πέλοπος ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πολεμαιίδος δω-
δεκάτης πρυτανείας · Σκιροφοριῶνος <ἕκτει ἐπὶ δεκὰ>, ἕκτει καὶ δ[ε]-
κάτει τῆς πρυτανείας · ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι · ἔδο-
ξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι · Αἰσχέας Θεοπείθου
Κηφισιεὺς εἶπεν · ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
τοῦ ἐν ἄστει Πρωταγόρας Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν πρό-
σοδον ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὴμ βουλὴν ἀπήγγελκεν
ἐν αἷς πεποίηται θυσίαις γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ
καὶ σωτήρια πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τὰς πό-

[λ]εις τὰς Ἀθηναίων · ἐπιμεμέληται δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱε-
[ρ]οῦ εὐκοσμίας καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἁπάσας τέθυκεν κατὰ [τὰ]
ψηφίσματα · πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμο-
[ν]α καὶ ἁρμόττουσαν τεῖ ἱερω[σ]ύνε̣[ι] · ᵛ ἀγαθεῖ τύ̣[χει · δεδόχθαι
τεῖ]
βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησί-
αν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλε-
σθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ
ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄστει
καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι εὐσε-
βείας ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ
πρὸς τοὺς θεούς · ᵛ ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν
στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῶ[ι] ·
τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν μερίσαι τὸ γενόμε-
νον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης. *vacat*

vacat 0,015

in corona
ἡ βουλὴ
ὁ δῆμος
τὸν ἱερεῖα
Πρωταγόραν
Περγασῆθεν

vacat 0,09

Koehler || 2 *om. sculptor, suppl.* Michel, Kirchner ; ἔκτει καὶ δεκάτει, (--ει καὶ δεκάτει) τῆς πρυτανείας Koehler ; *om.* Hubbe || 7 ἀπήγγελκεν Hubbe || 10–12 *init. vidit* Koehler || 13 ἁρμόττουσαν Roussel ; ὁρμόττουσαν, *SEG* || 26 ἱερεῖα Hubbe.

[3.] Decret en l'honneur de [-----], pretre d'Asclepios. EM 7569+ 7568+7567 (a–c) +5297 (d). Quatre fragments, dont trois jointifs, d'une stèle de marbre gris surmontée d'un fronton et d'une moulure, trouvés entre le théâtre de Dionysos et l'Odéon d'Hérode Atticus. **A–c** : H. : 0,485 ; l. : 0,305 ; ép. : 0,095 (h., sauf fronton et moulure 0,135) ; **d** : H. : 0,29 ; l. : 0,144 ; ép. : 0,095. Lettres : 0,005. Interligne : 0,002. Non *stoichedon*. Graveur d'Agora I 6006 (*ALC* : 148).

Ed. pr. : **a** : *IG* add. 385e (Koehler) ; **b** : Koumanoudis, *Ἀθήναιον* 6 (1877) : 489 ; **c** : *IG* add. 453b (Koehler). **d** : *IG* II² 974 (Kirchner, d'ap. Wilhelm).

Rééd. : A. Wilhelm, *BPW* 1902 : 1098–1099 (a+b+c ; *IG* II² 974 (Kirchner) ; *Syll.*³ 687). *Hesperia* 28 (1959) : 188–194, n° 10 (R. O. Hubbe ; ph. pl. 39) [*SEG* 18.26].
Cf. B. Haussoulier, *RArch* 43 (1882) : 253, (l. 12). W. S. Ferguson, *The Priests of Asklepios* : 168. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archons List* : 194–195 (nom, l. 7). S. B. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens* : 91–92 (l. 18) [*SEG* 39.140].

137/6 *Non stoichedon, ca* 47–53

Ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείτου [ἄρ]χοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ἑ[βδόμης πρυτα]-
νείας ἧι Διονύσ[ιο]ς Δημητρίου Ἀνακαιεὺς ἐγραμ[μάτευεν · Γαμη]-
λιῶνος τρίτει μ[ε]τ' εἰκάδας, ἑβδόμει καὶ εἰκοστ[εῖ τῆς πρυτανείας] ·
ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ · τῶμ προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζε̣[ν ca 12]
Ευπολέμου Ποτάμ̣[ι]ος καὶ συμπρόεδρο[ι · vacat]
vacat [ἔδο]ξε[ν] τ̣ε̣ῖ β[ουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι · vacat]
Διογένης [Διοκ]λείδου Κυδαθ[ηναιεὺς εἶ]πεν · ἐπειδὴ ca 8]
Νικοκ[ράτου] Φλυεὺς ὁ γενόμεν[ος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄ]-
[στ]ε̣ι̣ τ̣ὸν ἐπὶ Τιμάρχου ἄρχοντος ἐν̣[ιαυτὸν τά τε εἰσιτητήρια ἐθυ]-
[σ]εν καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς τῶι Ἀσκλη[πιῶι καὶ τεῖ Ὑγιείαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλ]-
λοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν καὶ ἐβουθύ[τησεν τοῖς Ἀσκληπιείοις]
καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἡρώιοις παραȥ[τήσας θύματα ὡς κάλλιστα]
[κ]αὶ τὰς τούτων παννυχίδας συν[ετέλεσεν · θύσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ]
[τ]ῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδ[ων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ καλλιερή]-
[σ]ας, ἐν ἅπασιν ἀπήγγειλεν τεῖ βο[υλεῖ γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ]
σωτήρια · ἔστρωσεν δὲ καὶ τὰς κλ[ίνας ca 14 ἐν ἑκά]-
ȥ̣τει τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπιφανῶς καὶ Ε[ca 22]
ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα ca 13 εἰς τὰ]
Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρρηφοροῦσαν · βουλόμ[ενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον αὔξειν τὰς]
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμὰς καὶ τὴν τ[ῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ἐβουθύτη]-
σεν καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ταῦρον [καὶ ἐκόσμησεν τὴν τράπεζαν]
καὶ παννυχίδα συνετέλεσεν παρθ[ενικῶι χορῶι · καταστήσας]
δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑὸν Δῖον κλειδοῦχον κα[ὶ πυρφόρον ἐπὶ ἁπάσας τὰς]
[κ]αθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γενομένας θερ[απείας ἐν αἷς τοῖς θύουσιν]
[τ]ῶι θεῶι κεχορήγηκεν ἐκτενῶς, τοῦ τ[ε τεμένους τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]
[καὶ] τ̣ῆς Ὑγιείας καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν [αὐτοῖς ca 14]
[ca 4 τ]ὴν καθήκουσαν [ἐ]π̣ι̣[μέ]λειαν ἐποιή[σατο ca 14]
[ca 8]ω̣ν · προ[σκαλέσας] δὲ καὶ τὴν βο[υλὴν ca 14]
[ca 9]α ποι[ήσασθαι πε]ρὶ τούτων τ[ca 19]
[ca 9]ΟΜΕ[ca 10]ΑΣΕΩΣΑΝΔ[ca 18]
[ca 22] αὐτων δια[ca 18]
[ca 23]υ̣τος ἀναδ̣[ca 17]
[ca 22 ἐκ τῶ]ν̣ ἰδ̣ίω̣[ν ca 17]

Fragment d :

---------Ṛ
---------Αν
---------ΤΑ
---------ΝΕṆ
5 ---------ΡΟ
---------ποιη-
---------ζομε-
---------ωματα
---------θεν
10 ---------ΝΤΟΥ
---------Ε^{νν}
---------ΕΝ τεῖ
---------ΑΤΑ^{ν}
---------ΣΤΩΝ
15 ---------[χ]ρυσῶν
---------ω̣ν^{ν}
---------ο̣ἰκοδο-
μ---------ΕΣΤΑ
---------λ̣εν δὲ
20 ---------Λ̣Α ἀσ-
---------ΑΚΗΣ
---------τα ἐπι
---------ιμε-
---------Ỵ̣ΚΟ

1–5 Kirchner. 6–fin. Hubbe. *d* : EPS. || 7 [Διοκ]λείδου Wilhelm. *fin.* [ἐπειδὴ Λεωνίδης] Dinsmor ; Hubbe || 8 Νικοκ[ράτου] Ferguson || 8–9 *Cf.* **n° 1**, 5–6 ; [Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγιείαις ἐπ]ὶ Kirchner || 12 παρὰ τ[ῶι Ἀσκληπιείωι τῶι ἐν ἄστει] Haussoulier, Kirchner, Dittenberger || 14–15 [τὰς θυσί]ας, Kirchner *vel* [τὰς θυσίας ταύτ]ας, Hubbe || 18 *nomen* Aleshire, θυγατ[έρα εἴς τε τὰ Ἀσκληπίεια καὶ τὰ] Hubbe || 22 παννυχίδα<ς> Kirchner, παννυχίδα *lapis*, Hubbe. || 22 παρ'ὅ[λον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν · κατέστησεν] Kirchner, *vel* παρο[ύσης τῆς βουλῆς · καταστήσας] Hubbe || 24 γινομένας Hubbe || 24 θε[ραπείας] Hubbe.
N.B. : Le fragment *d*, qui porte la partie inférieure droite de la stèle, pourrait joindre le fragment *c* à la ligne 25 : le Y lu ligne 1 constituerait la dernière lettre du mot [Ἀσκληπιο]ῦ (Hubbe). L. 30–31 : on pourrait ainsi avoir [τὰς --]ομέ[νας *ca* 7]ας ἕως ἂν δ[ύνηται ὁ *ca* 8] ποιῆ[σαι --] (Hubbe).

[4.] **Decret en l'honneur des pretres de Delos.** Musée de Délos, inv. Δ 438. Stèle de marbre blanc brisée en h. et en b., trouvée en 1904 dans des déblais au SO de l'Agora « de Théophrastos ». H. : 0,27 ; l. : 0,30 ; ép. : 0,07. Lettres : 0,006 (phi : 0,01). Interligne : 0,006 ; trace de réglage et de peinture rouge. Non *stoichedon*.

Ed. pr. : *BCH* 1907 : 425–427, n° 17 (Bizard et Roussel).
Rééd. : *Choix*, n° 80 (Durrbach ; trad. fr.) ; *ID* 1499 (Roussel-Launey).
Cf. P. Roussel, *DCA*, p. 44, n. 6

152/1 *Non stoichedon, ca* 30–35

[---------- Φι]λοκλῆ[ς Λυκ]ίσκου Ἀ[τη]-
[νεὺς εἶπεν · ἐπ]ειδὴ οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἐν Δήλωι οἱ
[ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχ]οντος τάς τε θυσίας ἔθυ-
[σαν τὰς καθηκ]ούσας ἁπάσας ὑπέρ τε τῆς
[βουλῆς καὶ τ]οῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
[παίδων] καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ρω-
[μ]αίων καὶ τῶν κατοικούντων Ἀθηναίων
[τ]ων ἐν Δήλωι καὶ ἐν ταύταις κεκαλλιερ[η]-
[κ]έναι αὐτοὺς, ἀνεστράφησαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
[ἄλ]λοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημο-
νως · *vacat* ἀγαθεῖ τύχει · δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ
τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν
[ἐ]κκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώ-
[μ]ην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ-
μον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσαι τοὺ[ς]
ἱερεῖς τοὺς ἐν Δήλωι ἐπὶ τοῦ Φαιδρίου ἄρχον-
τος *vacat* · Δρά[κ]οντα Φλυέα, Γοργίαν
Ἰωνίδην, Λήναιον Ἕρμειον, Σαραπίωνα
Παμβωτάδην, Ἡρακλείδην Παμβωτάδην
Πρωτογένην Παιανιέα, Λεόντιχον Δεκε-
λέα, Στρατώνα Κηφισιέα, Πυλάδην Περι-
θοίδην *vacat* στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον
αὐτῶν δάφνης στεφάνωι εὐσε[βείας ἕ]νεκα
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ----------

Bizard et Roussel. 1 Roussel (*DCA* : 44, n. 6). || 9–10 om. ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, Roussel et Launey.

5. Bibliographie

Aleshire, S. B. (1989). *The Athenian Asklepieion : The People, Their Dedications and the Inventories*. Amsterdam.
– (1991). *Asklepios at Athens. Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults*. Amsterdam.

Bruneau, Ph. (1970). *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et impériale* (BEFAR 217). Paris.

Clinton, K. (1974). *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 64). Philadelphie.
Colin, G. (1905). *Études sur le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* (BEFAR 93). Paris.

Daux, G. (1940). 'Athènes et Delphes', *HSPh Suppl.* 1 : 37–69.
Dinsmoor, W. B. (1939). *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries.* Columbia.
Dow, St. (1937). *Prytaneis : A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors (Hesperia Suppl.* 1). Baltimore.
Durrbach, F. (1922). *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, II. Paris.

Ferguson, W. S. (1911). *Hellenistic Athens. An Historical Essay*. Londres.

Habicht, Chr. (1979). *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens in 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Vestigia 30). Munich.
– (1982). *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Hypomnemata 73). Göttingen.
– (1994). *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit*. Munich.
– (1999). *Athènes hellénistique. Histoire de la cité d'Alexandre à Marc Antoine*. Paris (trad. fr. de l'allemand : *Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit*. Munich. 1995).
Hubbe, R. O. (1959). 'Decrees from the Precinct of Asklepios at Athens', *Hesperia* 28 : 169–201.

Ismard, P. (s. p.). 'Les *génè* athéniens de la basse époque hellénistique : naissance d'une aristocratie ?' (à paraître dans P. Fröhlich, P. Hamon, C. Müller (ed.), *Groupes et associations dans le monde grec : structures d'appartenance et dynamiques sociales dans les poleis de l'époque hellénistique et impériale* (III^e s. a.C.–II^e s. p.C.), Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris les 19 et 20 juin 2009).

Karila-Cohen, K. (2003). *Les Pythaïstes athéniens et leurs familles. Étude sur les cultes à Athènes à la basse époque hellénistique*. Thèse de Doctorat, Paris-IV.
- (2005). 'Les Pythaïstes et leurs familles. L'apport de la prosopographie à la connaissance de la religion à Athènes au IIe siècle avant notre ère', in M.-F. Baslez, F. Prévôt (ed.), *Prosopographie et histoire religieuse*. Paris, 69–83.
- (2007). 'La Pythaïde et la socialisation des élites athéniennes aux IIe et Ier siècles avant notre ère', in J.-Chr. Couvenhes, S. Milanezi (ed.), *Individus, groupes et politique à Athènes de Solon à Mithridate.* Tours, 365–383.

MacKendrick, P. (1969). *The Athenian Aristocracy, 399 to 31 B.C.* (Martin Classical Lectures 23). Cambridge (Mass.).
Mikalson, J. D. (1998). *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*. Berkeley-Los Angeles.

Parker, R. (1996). *Athenian Religion : a History*. Oxford.
Perrin-Saminadayar, É. (2004). *'Aere perennius*. Remarques sur les commandes publiques de portraits en l'honneur des grands hommes à Athènes à l'époque hellénistique : modalités, statut, réception', in Y. Perrin , T. Petit (ed.), *Iconographie impériale, iconographie royale, iconographie des élites dans l'Antiquité*. Saint-Étienne : 109–137.
- (2005). 'Traditions religieuses et stratégies familiales. Sur quelques familles sacerdotales athéniennes de l'époque hellénistique', in M.-F. Baslez, F. Prévôt (ed.), *Prosopographie et histoire religieuse*. Paris, 51–67 et 401–404.
- (2007). *Éducation, culture et société à Athènes. Les acteurs de la vie culturelle athénienne (229–88) : un tout petit monde*. Paris.
- (2007a). 'Le personnel d'encadrement de l'éphébie athénienne (229–88)', in J.-Chr. Couvenhes, S. Milanezi (ed.), *Individus, groupes et politique à Athènes de Solon à Mithridate*. Tours, 385–419.

Roussel, P. (1987²). *Délos, colonie athénienne* (BEFAR 111). Paris [1ère éd. 1916].

Tracy, S. V. (1982). *IG* II² 2336 : *Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythaïs* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 139). Meisenheim-am-Glan.
- (1990). *Attic-Letter-Cutter from 229 to 86 BC*. University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1990.

The tenure, appointment and eponymy of priesthoods and their (debatable) ideological and political implications

MARIETTA HORSTER

Abstract: From classical times to the imperial period, both annual tenure and life office are attested for priests in Athens. In general, *genos* priesthoods seem to have had life tenure whereas the so called 'democratic' priesthoods of the classical and Hellenistic periods seem to have had annual tenure and were selected by lot. The paper investigates the evidence for changes in the pattern of tenure and the conditions that may have given rise to them. Two aspects closely connected with tenure will also be considered: the method of selection and the eponymous use of priests' names in Athens.

1. Introduction

The surprising use of priestly eponymy in Athens provides a starting point for examining the political and religious implications of the tenure of priesthoods. There is no obvious reason for eponymy in the case of priests and priestesses who served longer than one year, even if the context of this use of an eponym is a sanctuary. In the later Hellenistic and the imperial period, for instance, the name of the priestess of Demeter and Kore is used in the Eleusinian sanctuary in an eponymous way even though she served the goddesses for life. On the other hand, there are very practical financial and administrative reasons that explain the way that the names of the annual priests structure the inventories of the Athenian Asklepieion.[1] New dedications are listed under the heading of the annual priest in charge: [ἐ]φ' ἱερέως Φανομάχου …, [ἐ]φ' ἱερέω[ς] Ἀρχεστράτου Προκ[λ]ῆς Αἰξωνεύς … '(And the following items which have been dedicated) in the priesthood of …'.[2] This

1 Aleshire 1989 with texts, commentaries and translations of the inventories.

2 The text cited is from Inventory V, the translation is by Aleshire 1989: 278–292 for *IG* II² 1534B+1535 plus corrections and additions. The inventory starts with a decree of 244/3 BC and continues with a list of dedications for at least 12 years, but not

type of documentary practice may have been based on series of yearly lists (e.g. on papyrus under the heading of the respective priest's name), or on the practice of attaching the name of the priest in office to each dedication, or perhaps because the stores and shelves on which the dedications were kept were marked with the name of the priest in whose year of priesthood a dedication was made.[3] This practical context for the use of the annual priest's name in the sanctuary of Asklepios is hardly relevant in the case of the lifelong (female) priesthoods of Athena on the Acropolis and of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. There must be other reasons for this use of priests' names, and this paper will explore possible explanations.

Another point connected to the question of annual tenure and eponymy is the correlation between length of tenure and the type of selection procedure used in appointments to the priesthood (by inheritance, lot, election). It has often been claimed that annual tenure does not occur together with hereditary appointment or co-option, whereas tenure for life is not found with appointment procedures like sortition and election from a large group. The following quotations may illustrate different perspectives on this issue, but all ultimately reach the same conclusion. According to Gary Vellek's summary of Douglas Feaver's unpublished dissertation, Feaver demonstrated that, after the disastrous outcome of the Peloponnesian war with its consequences for

necessarily 24 years (which would make up two priestly or secretarial cycles in tribal order); for the date cf. Aleshire 1989: 293–301. In 244 BC, the demos and the boule supported the Asklepios priest of that year in his task to inspecting, inventorying and rearranging the dedications in the sanctuary. As seen in the text cited above, the inventory-list produced by the commission and the priest arranged by priestly years. Habicht was one of the first to point out this eponymous role of the priests in the Asklepios inventories. Habicht 1982: 64–69 discusses the possibility of a 'Priesterzyklus' of the twelve *phylai* which rotated in selecting the priest of Asklepios, similar to the rotation for the selection of the *grammateis* of the boule. He assumes (p. 69) that Inventory V refers to dedications offered during the previous cycle, for the years 268/7 to 244/3 BC, and concludes that 'die Inventare des Asklepieions sich nach den Zyklen der Asklepiospriester gerichtet haben. Dies ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als die Priester in diesen Verzeichnissen eine bestimmte Rolle spielen, indem ihre Namen (und nicht die der Archonten oder die der Grammateis) verwendet werden, bestimmte Jahre zu bezeichnen.' Even though Habicht's conclusion about the cycles of priests and their connection with the arrangement of the inventory inscriptions can be challenged (as Aleshire 1989: 109–110 did convincingly), the annual appointment by lot and the cycle of tribal rotation was probably used for the selection of priests from the fourth to the first century BC – with several larger breaks in the Hellenistic period – and the eponymous function of the priest in the inventories is beyond doubt, cf. Aleshire 1989: 75–81.

3 See Aleshire 1989: 103–108 and Harris 1994: 219 for the structure and function of financial and other records on perishable material.

Athenian democracy, in the fourth century BC there is an evident reflection of democratic ideals in the shape and structure of priesthoods.[4] Vellek himself adds for his own research period that there was an 'aristocratic monopoly of the priestly offices, brought about as a result of Sullan conquest' and that under Roman influence and because of poor economic conditions the 'priesthoods which had formerly been allotted annually tended to become life offices.'[5] Robert Parker speaks in his *Athenian Religion* of 'democratic priesthoods allocated by lot' and says: 'Under the Romans, rather characteristically, a reversion to life priesthood can be observed'.[6] And Jon D. Mikalson states:[7] 'In democratic Athens, priests of new cults were selected by lot for annual terms …'. The list of statements like this could be extended.

That there is a political implication in the difference between annual (= democratic) priesthoods and lifelong (= aristocratic, Roman-inspired) priesthoods is both well established and well founded.[8] How-

4 Vellek 1969: 2 quotes D. Feaver, *Athenian Priesthoods*, PhD, The Johns Hopkins University 1951, 144.

5 Vellek 1969: abstract, p. II.

6 Parker 1996: 129 and 129 note 28. The context of the above quotation is a discussion of the reforms of the fifth century. The priests' 'few marks of distinctiveness – high birth, access to ancient tradition, long service, the test of election – were now stripped away.'

7 Mikalson 2004: 214. The quotation continues with a reference to the auction of priesthoods in some cities in Asia Minor.

8 On the Roman view of the necessity of social hierarchies, or *ordines*, which ought to be identical with hierarchies in politics and religious responsibilities, see Ferrary 1987–89 with a focus on political hierarchies, the duties of elites and Cicero's criticism of democratic institutions in Greek cities. Some of the regulations imposed by Pompey in 64/63 BC on the organisation of the cities and especially their senates, with magistrates, ex-magistrates and a census-qualification, are made explicit by Plin. *Ep.* 10.79, 112 (cf. 10.114), on which see Fernoux 2004: 142–146. The honorific decree for Menodoros in Pergamum (*SEG* 50.1211), cf. Wörrle 2000, refers to a Ῥωμαϊκὴ νομοθεσία in the context of inner-institutional and organisational changes in Pergamum already shortly after 125 BC, which might be part of a first shift in this direction towards an elitist 'democracy', an 'Honoratiorenregime'. Cicero later calls this the regimes of the *optimates* in the Greek cities; on Cic. *Pro Flac.* 58 and with further references, see Touloumakos 1967: 6–7, Quaß 1993: 138–149, 357–358. However, the sources seldom connect the exclusiveness of elites and magistracies (census and election) or membership in boule/senate with the idea of an exclusive character in priesthoods and the necessity for elite priests. Scheid 1984 investigates the relationship and character of magistracies and priesthoods in Republican times and before the evident change under Augustus, with its well-defined and census-based priesthoods. In Republican times, most priests are members of the senatorial class, with a few of the equestrian order, so the mass of priests fulfilled the equestrian census. The possibilities and (social as well as political) prerequisites for being co-opted into one of the priesthoods are different and less strict compared to the (census)

ever, the modern idea that, in the context of priesthoods, selection by lot and annual tenure are markers of a specific political ideal has been refuted, e.g. by Robert Parker,[9] and has again been questioned by Josine Blok and Stephen Lambert.[10] Their arguments will not be retraced in detail, but the questions raised about the political character of appointment methods and duration of tenure in both priesthoods and other offices will provide a starting point for this paper, which will first present an overview of the appointment-related and tenure-related discussion in modern literature, and then investigate the use and function of priestly eponymy in Athenian sanctuaries.

2. Inheritance: Priesthoods in the hands of the *gene* and of families

Since the fundamental work of François Bourriot on the Attic *gene* was published in 1976, the issue of the *gene* and *genos* priesthoods in Athens has been taken up many times.[11] According to Stephen Lambert, *genos* membership and the tenure of the *genos* priesthoods were most attractive for the new wealthy families after the 166 BC reacquisition of Delos had introduced new possibilities for acquiring wealth. Thus, by marriage – and Lambert argues also that in the second and first centuries adoptions increased in frequency and attractiveness[12] – the *gene* gave *eugeneia* to the new families. These parvenus[13] – from a point of view

requirements for magistracies. The discussion e.g. about the priesthoods of L. Pinarius Natta (Cic. *de domo suo* 45.118) and C. Valerius Flaccus (Liv. 31.50.7–9) makes it obvious that, apart from the priestly authority based on the *ius sacrorum*, the regulations concerning priesthoods could change over time and the way priestly actions or e.g. immunities should be interpreted were not all that fixed, cf. Scheid 1984: 261 (Natta), 264 (Flaccus).

9 Parker 1996: 58 writes: 'Public priesthoods vested in the *gene* were held for life and in principle, it seems, were filled by the lot; in practice, particular families within a *genos* often succeeded in reserving particular priesthoods to their members.'

10 Blok, Lambert 2009.

11 Bourriot 1976, Aleshire 1994; Parker 1996: 56–66, 284–327 with a detailed discussion of each attested *genos*, including those attested in the post-classical periods, e.g. only by Hesychius's lexicon. Aleshire in Aleshire/Lambert 2011; Blok 2009; Blok/Lambert 2009; Lambert in Aleshire/Lambert 2011.

12 See Lambert, in: Aleshire/Lambert 2011: 558–59 and his comment on Aleshire's argument in: Aleshire/Lambert 2011: 563 note 63.

13 Lambert, in: Aleshire/Lambert 2011: 558–59. According to Lambert 2011 in Aleshire/Lambert: 558 note 37, Perrin-Saminadayar 2005: 54–57 emphasises the role of traditional religious offices for the 'construction of new family alliances by the elite of this period'. Though this is Perrin-Saminadayars's subject, he argues mainly that

that is probably not Greek, and not even especially Roman, but is rather an old-style European vision of a natural combination of high social standing by birth and new money, i.e. of old (impoverished) aristocratic families and 'nouveaux riches' – were seeking ancestry and social standing, while the impoverished old families were lucky to become part of the economic revival in Athens. Following this line of argument, one would imagine that a broadening of the elite, with more families, more ways to become rich and thereby become part of the leitourgic and propertied class, would be the outcome of this combination of old families and new economic prospects. Yet prosopography seems to show the contrary. Where we should expect a widening of economic prospects and political participation, it has been generally accepted that restrictions and reductions in the number of the Athenian elite families can be observed in the second half of the second century BC.[14] This may

---

the development occurred between the 120s and the late first century and he does not connect it to a post-166BC economic development. Nor does Perrin-Saminadayar support the idea of old aristocratic families marrying new money, but explicitly prefers a revised form of Rostovtzeff's model, which had been adjusted with good arguments by Tracy 1979: 229–231 (the Athenians who have become 'Delian business tycoons' are also engaged in supporting religious revival in Athens and on Delos) and 1982: 155–168, cf. Perrin-Saminadayar 2005: 63. Tracy's revision mainly concerned a shift from economic reasoning to a combination of the economic and the political (pro-Roman). Tracy's prosopographical study (1982 with revisions and more details including a prosopography than 1979) shows that the most influential families in Athens around 100 BC were members of the old families. This line of argument has been taken further by Perrin-Saminadayar who has demonstrated that the members of the *gene* had often intermarried with other *gene* families and/or families that were already well represented in the record of office-holders in Athens by that time. This takes up an important argument by Davies 1973: 229 that there are no cases of high status (e.g. old family but poor) that do not also embrace at least one other aspect: e.g. ability, wealth, ambition.

14 The diminution in the numbers of elite families is Lambert's argument in Aleshire/Lambert 2011: 559 with reference to Hamon 2007. However, Hamon 2007: 82 argues for a shift in the political culture in the cities of the Aegean and the west-coast of Asia Minor in the middle of the 2nd century BC. The argument is that, until the mid-second century, those who wanted to be influential in a city had to excel by reputation gained through financial, military, diplomatic and political engagement; the background of this competition was a (direct) democracy with a larger group of politically active citizens. This may be true for the development in many cities, but neither Hamon nor Savalli-Lestrade 2003 investigate the Athenian material and instead focus on Asia Minor and the islands. Contrary to Lambert 2011, Hamon 2007: 83 note 1 had criticised MacKendrick 1969 and his assumption of the supremacy and 'aristocracy' of the Athenian *gene* in the Hellenistic period. For arguments Hamon refers the reader to two of MacKendrick's reviewers. Oliver 2006 analyses economics with a view ranging from Athens into the Aegean, including Delos. However, the 'Delos effect' (p. 249, cf. 223), as he calls it, is left out in his study and Vial 1984 and Reger 1994 cover the pre-Athenian period. Reger 1994: 257–271 concludes that in the

be the consequence of an unattested introduction of new property quailfications in Athens at the end of the third Macedonian War, but, even if so, similar restrictions with varying levels of property qualification for participation in democratic institutions had been in use for some time, since the end of the Lamian War.[15]

However, it may be asked whether it is a sound conclusion at all that there had been a decline in the number and structure of elite families from the late fourth century until ca. 166 BC? Is it also sound to assume that after 166 everything changed, and especially that a new economic elite was established, became influential in Athens and had a special interest in being integrated into the existing family structures of the *gene* responsible for the priesthoods of Athena, Demeter and Kore, Poseidon and other important cults?

It is beyond the scope of this contribution to one rather small aspect of the development of priesthoods in Hellenistic Athens to investigate these questions fully. However, some remarks may suffice to raise doubts about the current assumptions. In the fourth century BC there was extraordinary prosperity connected to the recovery after the Peloponnesian war, but from the third century on, parts of Attica, or at least some demes and settlements, declined and economic activities in the countryside are less well attested.[16] These developments were partly influenced by the direct Macedonian control of parts of Attica and the loss of Piraeus for most of the third century, and partly by war as an important interference factor for rural economies.[17] However, the cur-

---

independence period of 207–167 BC the Delian economy grew, with higher prices for several commodities and higher rents for houses. At the end of this time of 'new prosperity' when the Romans declared Delos a free port and the Athenians took over the administration, there is a decline in the local economy of the sacred island proper and an increase in (foreign) trade and prosperity connected to the Delian port, the urban facilities in the city of Delos and a cash flow from Delos to Athens.

15 Diod. 18.18.4–5 and 18.56 (2000 drachmas from 322 to 318, because the less prosperous were supposedly 'disturbers of peace' and *polemikoi*), Diod. 18.74.3 (1000 drachmas from 317 to an unknown date). Cf. O'Sullivan 2009: 108–116. Blok/Lambert 2009: 101 note 44 assume that these requirements applied not only to political offices but probably to 'eligibility for allotment to *polis* priesthoods'. They do not explain why and how this should have affected the *gene* in general and the *gene* priesthoods in particular.

16 Oliver 2006, Oliver 2007: 100–110, esp. 107 with a long note 189 with references to further literature for the Hellenistic period, the 'falling off' of parts of Attica and Attic economy and the revival in the imperial period.

17 On the cost of Hellenistic warfare (not only in Athens) and e.g. its influence on agriculture, see Migeotte 2000, Chandezon 2000 with a 'typology' of warfare-expenses, Baker 2000 about costs of garrisons and fortifications, Oliver 2007: 113–137 about the

rent state of research into the economy tends to the view that, contrary to what has been assumed until now, there was neither a general and drastic decline in population numbers nor a decline across all sectors of the Athenian economy in the (early) Hellenistic period.[18] The economic standing of single *genos* families in the third and second century BC is difficult to assess. It is therefore problematic to identify the presumed lack of wealth of members of the *gene* as a motivating factor in intermarriage. The evidence is elusive, which makes it difficult to draw coherent conclusions about elite strategies and the intermarriage politics of well-off families in the second century BC that go further than the studies of Stephen Tracy (with a focus on pro-Roman groups) and Eric Perrin-Saminadayar (with a focus on *gene* families of the Eleusinian sanctuary) – at least for the moment and at least in the context of this study.[19]

Although the commemoration of priests and cult personnel through inscribed votive and honorific monuments in sanctuaries is a common feature of the Hellenistic and Roman period, there is no clear indication that *gene* priesthoods became more attractive (for whatever reason) during the Hellenistic period. Nor is there unambiguous proof that there were only a few, special *gene* families in which a priesthood was passed from one generation to the next and whose members were selected (by whatever means) to become a priest or priestess.[20]

---

influence of war on the Athenian countryside and rural economy, Oliver 2007: 195–196 for the Piraeus .

18 See Oliver 2007: 74–110 on demographic change and its possible influence on various areas of economy. Polybios' 36.17.5 statement on the depopulation of Greece is convincingly reduced to a 'moral tone addressed broadly at the social elite' by Oliver 2007: 78. A survey of commodities, general trends detectable in Hellenistic economics and the scope of recent studies are presented by Davies 2001.

19 For the late second and first centuries BC: Tracy 1979, Tracy 1982, Perrin-Saminadayar 2005. A first shift from a more democratic organisation of the city towards a more oligarchic structure (with pro-Roman politics), with a strengthened council and members of leading families as magistrates, was dated to the end of the second century BC by Touloumakos 1967: 82–101. Grieb 2008: 132–133 dates these changes to the last third of the second century BC.

20 Discussion of the prosopography of some *gene* priests by Aleshire 1994; updated, with more details and, partly, with different results, in the discussion of the prosopography of the important *gene* priesthoods (Eteoboutadai: Athena Polias, Poseidon Erechtheus; Eumolpidai: Hierophant of Demeter and Kore; Kerykes: Dadouch of Demeter and Kore; Philleidai, priestess of Demeter and Kore) by Blok/Lambert 2009: 105–120.

3. Sortition, election, pre-selection, inheritance – the routes to the priesthood

Most modern approaches take the view that sortition was a more democratic method of selection, while election was a more oligarchic or aristocratic method, but this is not how Aristotle categorises them. In the *Politics* (Book 4), he discusses how to establish a constitution and which aspects are 'constitutional' and characteristic for the most important three elements of the internal organisation of a given *polis*: public affairs, magistracies and judicial elements. For the second element, the magistracies, decisive aspects are (*Pol.* 1298a2) what matters they control 'and how their occupants are to be appointed.'[21] In democracies, all decision-making powers are given to all the people as sovereign (1298a4) and appointment to magistracies will be open to all citizens, either by election or by lot: αἱρετὰς οὔσας ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ κληρωτάς. It is other differences in the constitutional context that make election either democratic, oligarchic or aristocratic: in a moderate oligarchy the members of the deliberative body are 'eligible on the basis of a moderate property qualification' (*Pol.* 1298a8), in a non-moderate (that is, radical or pure) oligarchy, members of this body would be co-opted or would posses deliberative power by inheritance (1298b9): ὅταν δὲ καὶ αἱρῶνται αὐτοὶ αὑτοὺς οἱ κύριοι τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ ὅταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίῃ καὶ κύριοι τῶν νόμων ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν τάξιν ταύτην.[22] Arist. *Pol.* 1298b10 even presents sortition as a method specifically appropriate for an aristocratic constitution (and that of a good *politeia*) as long as it is combined with pre-selection or with a mixed body composed partly of elected members and partly of others appointed by lot; in aristocracies with only two constitutional bodies, namely the citizens who decide on a few matters and the magistrates who decide on all or most other matters, the latter should always be elected and not chosen by sortition.[23] Aristotle has a precise termino-

21 … τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τίνας δεῖ καὶ τίνων εἶναι κυρίας, καὶ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν. The above and the following translations of Aristotle's *Politics* are verbatim or very close to the translation of Barker 1952.

22 Cf. similarly Arist. *Pol.* 1298b11, with the alternative that in an oligarchy all or some members should be co-opted to a deliberative body which supervises the assembly of the citizens and considers in advance the decisions of the citizen body. As above, the English translation is identical to Barker 1952, and my epitomised version is based on his text.

23 Ὅταν δὲ τινῶν τινές, οἷον πολέμου μὲν καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ εὐθυνῶν πάντες, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὗτοι αἱρετοί, μὴ κληρωτοί, ἀριστοκρατία ἡ πολιτεία. Ἐὰν δ' ἐνίων μὲν αἱρετοὶ ἐνίων δὲ κληρωτοί, καὶ κληρωτοὶ ἢ ἁπλῶς ἢ ἐκ προκρίτων, ἢ κοινῇ αἱρετοὶ καὶ κληρωτοί, τὰ μὲν πολιτείας ἀριστοκρατικῆς ἐστι τούτων, τὰ δὲ

logy that he matches with constitutional variants of democracy, oligarchy, 'polity' and aristocracy. Inheritance and co-optation are necessarily methods connected to a (pure) oligarchy, whereas the less distinctive methods of election and lot may be combined with moderate democracy, radical democracy, polity and aristocracy, but in each constitutional case they occur in the different context of the respective deliberative structures and deliberative body.

At no point in his argumentation does Aristotle include priesthoods in his discussion of appointments and their duration. If there was a debate in the fourth century BC about the various methods of appointment and duration of tenure in priesthoods, the allusions to it are not explicit or unambiguous.[24] Robert Parker has already noted that such a debate may be reflected in two speeches by Isocrates and Demosthenes. In both, he sees a criticism of the democratic priesthoods. He argues that the deeper reason for this critique of appointment by lot is that it results in the loss of priestly exclusivity. However, this is only one way of interpreting these two very short allusions.

Isocrates, *Oratio* 2 is supposedly a positive portrait of the ideal king, Nikokles, King of Cyprus, but, in the detail of the argument, the portrait unmasks itself and turns out to be highly ironic.[25] Isoc. 2.6: ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς αἴτιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ὥσπερ ἱερωσύνην παντὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὃ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων μέγιστόν ἐστι καὶ πλείστης προνοίας δεόμενον.[26] It is at the least ambivalent to say that kingship is like priesthood, an office that everyone can fulfil. Isocrates' position is clear: kingship cannot be taken on by just anyone and it is one of the greatest of human duties and demands extreme prudence.[27] According to Isocrates, the (ironic or

---

πολιτείας αὐτῆς. Διήρηται μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευόμενον πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, καὶ διοικεῖ ἑκάστη πολιτεία κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον διορισμόν·

24 Parker 1996: 129 with note 28.

25 I owe this insight into Isocrates sophisticated use of 'gaps' between choice of subject (the ideal kingship) and choice of exponent, *exemplum* (Nikokles, who turns out to be not at all 'ideal') to Thomas Blank's not yet published dissertation on Isocrates' speeches.

26 This is followed by: καθ' ἑκάστην μὲν οὖν τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις μάλιστα δύναιτο κατὰ τρόπον διοικεῖν καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττειν τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύγειν, τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ συμβουλεύειν: καθ' ὅλων δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὧν χρὴ στοχάζεσθαι καὶ περὶ ἃ δεῖ διατρίβειν, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διελθεῖν.

27 Y. Lee Too, Isocr. *Nic.* 6 (in: Isocrates I, translated by D.C. Mirhady, Y. Lee Too, Austin TX 2000, p. 159) translates without comment as follows: 'The cause of this inconsistency and confusion is that people regard monarchy as a priesthood which could be held by any man, although it is in fact the greatest of human activities and requires a substantial amount of vision.'

non-ironic) difference between priesthood and kingship is that priestly office can be fulfilled by anyone and that priests do not need any *pronoia*. But is this really a criticism of the Athenian democratic procedures by which priests are appointed? Perhaps, but it may equally be the case that the listeners or readers would think it absurd that a priest would not need to be 'qualified' by diligence or *pronoia* even if he or she had been chosen by lot (though probably after a pre-selection). One example of how priests are positively characterised and viewed in the 330s BC is in Aeschines' speech against Ctesiphon. Here the main duties of priests, for which they have to give account, are reduced to two aspects: they receive the victims; and they pray to the gods to the benefit of the Athenian people (Aesch. 3.18). The male and female priests are described as representatives of the *polis* and its citizens before the gods. Aeschines gives a reduced description of priestly duties, but these duties and this perception were probably the minimum required of any priest, male or female. It is probable that some decades earlier when Isocrates wrote his speech, the 'standard' priest, so to speak, who is contrasted to the ideal king (*Or.* 2.6), did not even meet these minimum requirements. The short Isocratean mention of a priest may therefore not be intended as a political critique of allotted priesthoods, by which an everyman, a man-in-the-street, could become the representative of the whole citizenry, but simply one more subversive criticism of the main target of the speech, namely a naive understanding of monarchy and monarchic ideals and, especially, naive views of the (wrong) representatives of monarchy.

Demosthenes' remark (*Proem.* 55.2) is different in purpose, rhetorical means (seriousness rather than irony) and content.[28] He starts his

28 Text edited by W. Reenie, Oxford 1931, taken from Perseus Digital Libary: *www.perseus.tufts.edu*: (1) ἦν τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, χρόνος παρ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτ᾽ ἐπηνάγκαζεν ὁ δῆμος, ὃν ἄνθρωπον ἴδοι σώφρονα καὶ χρηστόν, πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἄρχειν, οὐ σπάνει τῶν τοῦτο βουλομένων ποιεῖν …, ἀλλ' ὅραμα τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖθ' ὁ δῆμος αὑτοῦ καλόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λυσιτελὲς τῇ πόλει. (2) οἵ τε γὰρ συνεχεῖς οἵδε παραζευγνυμένων σφίσιν ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν σπουδαίων καὶ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν, εὐλαβεστέρους αὑτοὺς παρεῖχον, οἵ τε χρηστοὶ μὲν ὑμῶν καὶ δικαίως <ἂν> ἄρχοντες, μὴ πάνυ δ' οἷοί τ' ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ παραγγέλλειν, οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο τῶν τιμῶν. νῦν δὲ παντάπασι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅνπερ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, οὕτως καθίστατε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. εἶτα θαυμάζετε, ἐπειδὰν ὁ δεῖν' εὐδαίμων καὶ ὁ δεῖν' ὑμῖν ᾖ συνεχῶς πολλὰ λαμβάνων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περιίητε τὰ τούτων ἀγαθὰ ζηλοῦντες. (3) δεινότατοι γάρ ἐστ' ἀφελέσθαι μὲν ὅσ᾽ ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει, καὶ νόμους περὶ τούτων θεῖναι, ἄν τις ἀστυνομήσῃ δὶς ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα, στρατηγεῖν δ᾽ ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐᾶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ὄντας ἴσως ἔχει πρόφασιν: τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ ποιοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, χώραν δ' ἀτέλεστον ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ τετελεσμένοι, μωρία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν (εἰσὶ δ' οὐκ ὀλίγοι) προσάγειν χρή. ἂν γὰρ ὥσπερεὶ ζυγῷ ἱστῆτε, πρόεισιν ὃς ἂν ἄξιος ᾖ του μετὰ ταῦτ' αὐτός.

exordium with a look back into an ideal world, when the demos elected the best men for office, who then served the Athenian state for as long as needed. As long as all men in office sought to make decisions for the common good, it was possible for different types of characters to serve the state in its best interests. But these good times have passed because the political system, the social system and the belief of and in the common good have changed. Nowadays it is necessary to be much more careful in choosing who should serve the state as an official; different men are now needed. Demosthenes implies that to find and select them, a new selection criterion is needed. What follows in Demothenes' argument is a comparison of the selection of magistrates with the selection of priests, which is clearly seen as a negative example. 'But now, man of Athens, you appoint your magistrates in exactly the same manner as you appoint your priests.'[29] The problem is clear to the listener, who has been well prepared by the first sentences: instead of making a careful choice by election, the selection process used for priests (by lot or another means, e.g. inheritance) is not what the low morale and the difficult political situation demand in the case of civic office-holders.

29 Transl. N.J. and N.W. de Witt, London/Cambridge Mass. 1962 with a footnote (ad *Or.* 55 note a) that the criticism is not against the few priesthoods chosen by lot, but against 'the majority of them [that] were perhaps hereditary.' The de Witts, translators of the passage, add the reference to another Demosthenic statement, which runs in the same direction of criticism: Dem. *Proem.* 13. Exordium 13 is about the social standing of advisors and the kind of advice given to the demos in public speech: 'For the right thing, men of Athens, is to extend your goodwill, not to certain persons as though by hereditary privilege, but to those who from time to time offer the best council.' (Transl. de Witt). In note a) to *Proem.* 55 follows a de Witt's second remark about the mention of hereditary priesthoods in Ps.-Dem. *Or.* 59.104 and in 59.106 priesthoods with selection by lot. However, in this speech against Neaera, 104, the Hippocrates decree regarding the Plataeans is cited, in which they are given the full right to share all privileges of the Athenians, including political and religious ones, except for priesthoods that belong to the *gene* and except for eligibility for the office of the nine archons: πλὴν εἴ τις ἱερωσύνη ἢ τελετή ἐστιν ἐκ γένους, μηδὲ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ... This restriction is limited to the first generation of these new Atheno-Plataeans. In 59.106 he recapitulates the decree and its intention while reformulating the two parts – office of nine archons and priesthoods (of the *gene*) – and it seems as if the decree says that the Plataeans were allowed neither to become one of the nine archons nor one of the priests chosen by lot: μηδενὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων λαχεῖν μηδὲ ἱερωσύνης μηδεμιᾶς, ... Whatever the speaker's intention was, this part of the speech should not serve as a sign of the frequency of priesthoods subject to selection by lot at the time of the decree, but instead as a hint that it was to some degree open to all Athenian citizens (in contrast to the first generation of citizens of the Plataeans) to become co-opted or elected as a priest of a *genos*. Bourriot 1976: 522–538 discusses the use of the word *genos* in the sense of priestly family in the fourth century. He includes Ps.-Dem. 59 but without a comment on this specific part of the speech.

Both, Isocr. *Or.* 2.6 and Dem. *Proem.* 55.2 compare the Athenian priesthoods to other offices and models of leadership. The ideal king (Nikokles, in Isocrates' account) and the ideal magistrates (in the past as retold by Demosthenes) are compared to the non-ideal priestly office-holders of the Athenian present. Even if this is only a rhetorical device, the comparison should be capable of elucidating the topic.[30] Neither Isocrates nor Demosthenes criticises the loss of priestly exclusivity. Instead they make a criticism that is, admittedly, connected to priesthoods: the potentially undesirable outcome of selection by lot (Isoc. *Or.* 2.6), and selection that does not involve choosing a specific man on account of his ability. This is problematic in the case of sortition and may be also in the case of inheritance (Dem. *Proem.* 55.2). Both types of selection method leave no (or only very little) influence to the deliberative body, the assembly of the people. Whenever decision is by lot, no other standards apart from the formal requirements need be fulfilled by the candidates for offices (*archai*) or for priesthoods.

While it is possible that the texts of Isocrates and Demosthenes reflect a debate about selection methods for priesthoods, they do not prove that such a discussion took place. And, as has been seen, neither these two short passages concerning priesthoods, nor Aristotle's long discussion about methods of appointment to office present election as a priori more oligarchic and sortition as more radically democratic.

The dilemma that every Athenian public priest, male or female, with the role of representing the whole body of the Athenians and the city and its territory before the gods, could be anyone at all, a woman- or man-in-the-street, as sketched in Isocrates' portrait of the ideal king, is however an effect of a particular method of selection, namely sortition.

However, the lot is not merely an equaliser and can be more than that. Sara Aleshire already pointed out that sortition might be thought of as the reflection of divine choice.[31] Josine Blok and Stephen Lambert reinforce this point and assign to sortition the reputation of being one

30 King Nikokles is far from being the ideal king. According to Isocrates, the superficial appearance of things and people as excellent or 'ideal' might easily be mistaken as being the true nature of things and people. Similarly, despite their outward appearance and cult performance, some or several priests or priestesses may well have turned out to be unable or unwilling to fulfil their duties. According to Demosthenes, the variety in the character of men who had taken over the responsibility of holding office was no problem as long as there was a consensus and it was the unquestioned matter of course that all decisions and actions, words and deeds were made for the common good of the Athenians.

31 Aleshire 1994: 335 with note 50 referring to Plato: Pl. *Lg.* 6.759b–c cf. 3.690c.

of the oldest and most solemn models and ideals of selection.[32] They relate it to the ancient politico-religious idea of the god's will, of his or her choice, which manifests itself through chance, fortune and random choice. According to Blok and Lambert, the appointment of priests by sortition is therefore an archaic and aristocratic ritual that enhances the authority of a priest because it demonstrates that the one chosen has been selected by the god him- or herself. At least in the context of cult and religion, selection by lot should therefore no longer be regarded as an invention of Athenian radical democratic groups aimed at suppressing aristocratic influences. Blok and Lambert have also discussed the combination of different methods in the appointment of priests, especially the combination of the lot with pre-selection as one option, and inheritance combined with pre-selection as another. The combination of pre-selection or other types of restriction and sortition and/or inheritance is also one of the subjects of Aleshire's paper on the 'Demos and the Priest' and was one of the issues discussed by Jules Martha in the late 19th century.[33]

4. *Gene* priesthoods: inheritance, pre-selection and restricted sortition

Sara Aleshire's main concern was the method of appointment to priesthoods that were under the responsibility of the Athenian *gene*, like the Hierophant of Eleusis held by the Eumolpidai, the Dadouch of Eleusis held by the Kerykes, the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus and the priestess of Athena Polias held by the Eteoboutadai. According to the description of the *Life of Lykourgos* in [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 843e–f, sortition was the normal method of selection from among the Eteoboutadai for the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus, but this could be combined with, or altered or annulled by, personal arrangements within a family and its members.[34] The compiler of the Byzantine 'Patmos' lexicon

32 Blok/Lambert 2009: 99. Scepticism about this interpretation in the tradition of Plato is voiced by Hansen 1991: 49–52, a view noted (if not shared) by Parker 1996: 126 note 20. Hansen states that no religious character is testified "to the selection of magistrates by lot, whereas the connection of lot and democracy is a commonplace in the sources."

33 Martha 1882: 24–39.

34 Habron, Lykourgos' son had been allotted the priesthood but resigned from this duty in favour of his brother Lykophron: κατῆγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαίστου: .. Ἅβρων … αὐτοῦ, λαχὼν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ παραχωρήσας τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λυκόφρονι. Cf. Aleshire 1984: 328.

refers to the lost initial chapters of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* with the comment that the subdivisions of the phratries were each 'made up of 30 *gene* of 30 men each';[35] the selection of the priests in this context is specified as ἐκληροῦντος. Aleshire's solution to the discrepancy between the *Athenaion Politeia* as cited by the Patmos Lexicon and the evidence of epigraphy and the few literary sources is that the method of sortition named by the Lexicon was not to be applied 'to the *genos* as a whole but to a short list which had been preselected in some manner.'[36] By shortlist, she evidently does not mean the procedure of the κλήρωσις ἐκ πρόκριτον, but rather any restriction by method or content (e.g. only one family, only one branch of a *genos*).[37] That the *prokrisis* shortlist cannot have occurred in appointments to *genos* priesthoods has been convincingly demonstrated by Josine Blok and Stephen Lambert.[38] Even though they explicitly dismiss the possibility that there was any kind of pre-selection (*prokrisis*) in the selection of *gene* priests, they ultimately come to a similar conclusion to that of Aleshire.[39] On the basis of our limited knowledge of known priests' family relations and the currently available literary and epigraphic material, the best reconstruction of the selection of priests in many of the better attested *gene* priesthoods is that there was first a technical pre-selection in that the choice was restricted to one *genos* and that membership of a *genos* was hereditary and could pass through the maternal line or through adoption if necessary. Further restrictions might then also apply e.g. to single branches, or single families of one branch, of the *genos*, or there might be specific rules of transmission for female priesthoods. Analysis of the priestly prosopography makes it likely that these rules or restrictions for selection from the members of the *gene* could change over time. Finally, if there was more than one member left who met these requirements, sortition seems to have been the standard method of appointment.

35 Aleshire 1994: 329.

36 Aleshire 1994: 333.

37 Aleshire 1944: 334 'I suggest, therefore, that we must consider restricted allotment as having been one of the means, or perhaps even the primary means, of filling gentilician priesthoods at Athens in the period between the fifth century and c. 21 BC.'

38 Blok/Lambert 2009.

39 Blok/Lambert 2009: 118–119, their discussion of the prosopography of the dadouchs ends with '… though in the later period a contraction in the size of the *genos*, a stronger application of property qualifications (whether *de facto* or *de iure*) and an increasingly "aristocratic" ideology of priestly and secular office-holding may have smoothed the path to "arranged" allotments and quasi-hereditary succession.'

5. 'Democratic' priesthoods: sortition and annual tenure

As well as the differing group of citizens from which the *polis* priests were selected, there seems to have been one more clear difference between the two types of priesthoods (i.e. gentilician and non-gentilician/democratic ones), namely tenure.[40] In the classical era and for most of the Hellenistic period, all gentilician priesthoods were held for life, whereas, apart from the democratic priesthood of Athena Nike, who may have been appointed for life (see below), all other such priesthoods were annual in tenure and were selected by sortition, which is presumed to be a specifically democratic method. An analogy is seen in the procedures for the appointment of Athenian officials by lot, which feature pre-selection in the demes or else agreements prior to the tribes' nomination of candidates from whom the final selection is made by sortition and so 'by chance'. It is often claimed on this basis that priests and other religious officials appointed by the Athenian *demos* by lot are probably pre-selected.[41]

The idea that the democratic element of priesthoods is apparent in both the method of appointment and the length of tenure led Judy A. Turner argue in her 1983 PhD thesis on *Hiereiai: Acquisition of feminine priesthoods in Ancient Greece* that the democratic priesthood of Athena Nike, with a priestess appointed by lot, must therefore have been appointed for an annual priesthood only.[42] Parker, however, is more cautious and states only that the assumption of lifelong tenure in the case of the priestess of Athena Nike is not self-evident,[43] while Lambert takes this scepticism much further. He argues that all the priesthoods created after the Periclean law of citizenship share common features based on the political intention and new conception of citizenship.

---

40 See Stephen Lambert in this volume, p. 61-65. Apart from the difference in eligible candidates for the priesthoods, the differences between the cults in which gentilician and non-gentilician (democratic) priesthoods were engaged are less significant than it might seem. At least some of the perquisites for (some?) *genos* priesthoods were funded by the state and some of those cults whose priesthoods were in the hands of one or several *gene* were at least partly regulated by the decisions of boule and demos. See Feaver 1957, Parker 1996 *passim*.

41 On the idea of a combination of sortition with a selection of volunteers (here in the case of the Athenian Pythaïstes), see Karila-Cohen 2005: 74. On the democratic priesthoods and the idea of volunteers (as a kind of selective method) or other pre-selections combined with lot, see Aleshire 1994: 326–327.

42 Turner 1983: 80–85.

43 Parker 1996: 126f. note 20, but says that Turner 'goes too far in insisting that selection by lot implies annual tenure'.

Therefore, according to Lambert, not only appointment by sortition from the whole body of Athenians but also annual tenure would be appropriate instruments for realising this Periclean vision of a more egalitarian but also elitist (almost *genos*-like) citizen body.[44]

Behind such arguments lies the notion of the development of democratic elements in fifth-century Athens, as proposed for example by Mogens Hansen in several of his papers and books.[45] In this context, the existence of the *gene*, their influence on Athenian cults, and the lifelong tenure of priesthoods were all leftovers from the aristocratic and oligarchic Archaic period or even later. These aristocratic elements of political life were found appropriate by Cleisthenes and later politicians because they were connected to and restricted on the religious sphere of politics, an area in which the *kata ta patria*, the way of doing things in the ancestral, traditional way, was of paramount value. The effectiveness of communication between the protecting gods and the *polis* with its citizens depended on ancestral continuity in all things concerning public (*polis*) cults, on the observance of the traditional rites, ritual prohibitions and the cult calendar. This modern interpretation of Athenian religion and cult is well founded on ancient texts, e.g. Lysias in his speech against Nicomachus, who had revised the sacrificial calendar at the end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth century. 'Our ancestors, who only made the sacrifices prescribed in Solon's code, bequeathed to us a city which was the greatest and happiest in all Greece; and so we ought to perform the same sacrifices as them, if for no other reason, for the good fortune that they brought.'[46] As a way of reading the Athenian development from aristocracy to democracy and from *genos* cults to *demos* cults, it presents the introduction of new gods and heroes, who received new cults and priesthoods after 450 BC, as the first opportunity to combine the 'new' democratic elements with the 'old' aristocratic religious sphere in politics. Accordingly, after the Periclean law creating an exclusive Athenian citizenship, three innovations became possible:

- a different group of citizens eligible for priesthood, which means that the new priesthoods should not necessarily be connected to a *genos* but either to the whole citizen body or to parts of it;

---

44 Lambert 2010: 143–144, Lambert in: Aleshire/Lambert 2011: 555, with arguments concerning the exclusivity and elitist vision of the post-Periclean citizenship, based on Blok 2009. See in this volume Stephen Lambert, p. 90-91 and Jan Bremmer's critical remarks, p. 223.

45 Hansen 1986, id. 1990, id. 1991: 229–237.

46 Lys. 30.18, translation by Parker 1996: 152.

- a different method of appointment namely sortition, as opposed to inheritance, selection or pre-selection;
- the existence of a non-aristocratic, democratic concept of office – encompassing magistracies as well as priesthoods – with, in general, annual rather than life tenure.

All three of these elements seem to be constituent of Athenian democratic offices, both magistracies and priesthoods, but it must be cautioned that the number of attested new public cults with *polis* priesthoods in Athens is quite small and for even fewer priesthoods do we know the method of appointment or type of tenure of the priesthood (e.g. annual, for a specific period, for life).[47]

The first attested priesthood of this type is the priestess for the cult of Athena Nike, already mentioned above, which was set up with a priestess selected by lot 'from all Athenian women'.[48] As discussed above, it is not known if the sortition was combined with an annual tenure of this priesthood.[49]

A few decades later, probably in the 420s or 410s, the integration of the existing cult of Bendis into the cults which were at least partly organised and controlled by the *polis* may have resulted in a non-annual solution for the duration of tenure by the priestess of Bendis.[50] The decree concerning the new cult and the priestess is too fragmentary to be decisive, but here again the selection from 'all Athenians' is conserved in the text and hence allotment is probably the method of selection for the priest and/or priestess of Bendis.[51]

---

47 Cf. Garland 1992, Lambert 2010: 153–161 on Athena Nike, Asklepios, Athena Pandemos, the Mother at the Metroon, Kalliste and Ariste, adds a general allusion to the priesthoods of Amphiaraos in Oropos and all priesthoods on Delos in the time of the Athenian control.

48 *IG* I³ 35 dated after 450, c. 448: [τεῖ / Ἀθεναίαι τεῖ Νί]κει *h*ιέρεαν *h*ὲ ἃγ̣ [κλ/ερομένε λάχε]ι ἐχς Ἀθεναίον *h*απα[σô/ν καθίστα]σθαι …

49 Discussion and references to sources and modern literature in Parker 1996: 126 with note 20.

50 Parker 1996: 172 refers i.a. to the assembly's decree *IG* I³ 136 ll. 30–31 and Pl. *Resp.* 327a–328a (c. 410 is the dramatic date of the *Republic*). An enquiry to an oracle was made, probably to Dodona as attested in the much later *IG* II² 1283 published by the Thracian worshippers. Lambert 2010: 162–163 with a discussion of the two priesthoods and the question of whether the regulations concerned the priest or the priestess.

51 The lot is with all likelihood attested by the phrase: 'of all Athenians' in *IG* I³ 136 ll. 29–30 […] εἴτε χρὲ γυναῖκα *h*ιερεος [… / … Ἀθενα]ίον ἁπάντον πεμφσάντον̣ [… . It seems as if from the beginning of his integration into the Athenian cults, Bendis was served by a male and a female priest, cf. Ferguson 1949 who argues for an earlier date of the decree (430/29), but see the previous note with Parker 1996 for a later date.

In 420/419 BC, another god, Asklepios of Epidauros, was introduced to Athens with temple and cult by a certain Telemachos on a private initiative.[52] His incorporation into the public cults probably occurred in the mid-fourth century. The priesthood may have remained in Telemachos' family up to that date, but at this point it probably became an annual priesthood. Annual tenure is attested at latest by the Asklepios inventory beginning in 329/8 BC.[53] Selection by lot is attested explicitly later in the third century BC, but had probably been used from the beginning, apparently to select from a pool of candidates proposed by the *phyle* that was in charge of the year's selection.[54]

The other cult of Asklepios with an attested priest is the one at Zea in the Piraeus; it came under public responsibility in the fourth century. One of the first priests of the public cult, Euthydemos of Eleusis, is attested twice and served the cult for at least two years, and thus is certainly not an annual priest.[55] We have no indication of the method of selection. So, in the fourth century at least, the priest of Asklepios at Piraeus was not annual.

A shift from a longer period of tenure to annual tenure is attested for several priesthoods, which probably had a tradition reaching back to before the mid-fifth century's Periclean citizenship decree and concept of 'democratic' priesthoods. This concerns at least one of the priests of the Eponymous Heroes of the *phylai*.[56] The first and until now only such attested annual priest of a tribal hero is that of the *phyle*

52 *IG* II² 4960, fragmentary, with several parts of the large inscribed monument of Telemachos. For the history of the foundation see Garland 1992: 118–135, whose interpretation is convincingly altered and partly rejected by Parker 1996: 177–187.

53 Aleshire 1989: 72–73 and 81 (annual tenure), 127–176 (inventory III = *IG* II² 1533).

54 Aleshire 1989: 75 with note 2 for sortition: *IG* II² 1163.3 (284/3 BC): ἐπειδὴ Φυλεὺς λαχὼν ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ …, *IG* II² 1046.9 (51/50 BC): … ὁ εἰληχὼς ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγείας …

55 *IG* II² 47 = *LSS* 11, *IG* II² 4962 = *LSCG* 21 dated in *IG* to the beginning of the fourth century, whereas Aleshire 1991: 244–246, followed by Parker 1996: 182 n. 104, dates his priesthood to c. 370–350. Parker 1996: 181–183 prefers the idea that the cult in the Piraeus is a late foundation (after 388?) and was not previously under private administration. Lambert 2010: 170 argues that the evidence for a longer tenure by Euthydemos points to a *genos* priesthood. However, this is a convincing argument only if one follows the more or less strict dichotomy of the existence of two distinct categories of Athenian *polis* priests in the classical and Hellenistic period, those with an annual democratic and those with a lifelong *genos* priesthood.

56 Kron 1976: 29–31 (selection of the heroes and foundation of the cults), 191–192 (cult of Antiochos perhaps in the Herakleion); Kearns 1989: 80–92 (the heroes of the Kleisthenic tribes).

Antiochis in 303/2.[57] It does not seem likely that the cults of the ten tribes installed in the context of the Cleisthenic reforms all immediately received a priest of their own or that the priesthoods set up in late sixth to early fifth century had had annual tenure at that early date.[58]

Later in the Hellenistic period, a few more priesthoods are attested for which tenure seems to be annual. Although the argument for the duration of the priesthood of Artemis Agrotera in an inscription dated after 167/6 BC is based on the eponymous use of the priest's name and office, which in itself would not be decisive, the context is not a votive or dedication in a sanctuary but a list of offices and it should therefore be taken as a probable indication of annual tenure.[59] In the mid-third century the priest of (Artemis) Kalliste and Ariste made a dedication in which he uses a phrase that has been considered characteristic of an annual priest: ἱερεὺς γενόμενος (created priest, priest created [for ...]).[60] In addition, in c. 234/3 BC a decree by boule and demos in honour of the priest of Kalliste at the end of his successful term of office states that he was elected by lot in a specific year, and so annual tenure is highly probable.[61] Later, probably in the mid-second century BC, another annual (*polis*?) priest, of Theseus, dedicated an inscribed votive in which he names himself ἱερεὺς γενόμενος τῶι Θησεῖ.[62] In the first century AD, however, this phrase had evidently changed in meaning and no

57 *SEG* 3.117 decree of the phyle Antiochis concerning Euthydemos (including information on the duties of the priest and the financing of the cult (303/2 BC): ἐπὶ Λεωστράτου ἄρχοντος, Τίμ/ων Τιμαίου Παλληνεὺς εἶπεν· ἐ/πειδὴ Εὐθύδημος ἔν τε τῶι ἔμπ/ροσθεν χρόνωι διετέλει λέγω/ν καὶ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα τ/ῆι Ἀντιοχίδι φυλῆι καὶ ἐπὶ Λε/πτίνου ἱερέως σύνδικος γενό/μενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ ἐ/ν Λήμνωι τοῦ ἀφορισθέντος πρ/ὸς τοὺς ἀμφισβητήσαντας εἰσ/έπραξε τὸ ἀφορισθὲν χωρίον τ/ῆι φυλῆι μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως Λεπ/τίνου· καὶ πάλιν αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τ/[ῶν] φυλετῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν Ὠρωπῶι ἐπ/[ὶ τὴν {γῆν?}] ἔφυλον(?) νεμηθεῖσαν ταῖς / [φυλαῖ]ς ἐπεμελήθη ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀν/[τιοχίδος] φυλῆς, ὅπως ἂν μηθὲν [βλαβερὸν γένητ]αι τοῖς φυ[λ]έ[τ]/[αις, καὶ αἴτιος ἐγ]ένετο λαβεῖ/[ν ...

58 Kearns 1985: 194 argues that the early tribal priests would have been traditional in conception, and therefore gentilician and might at a later date have passed into the hand of the tribes through extinction of the *genos,* but cf. Parker 1996: 118–119. Lambert 2010 does not list this priest and priesthood, probably because he does not categorise it as one of the 'polis' cults.

59 *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 457 no. 7: ἐπὶ Σούνιον [ἱερεὺς Ἀρτ]έμιδος Ἀγροτέρας.

60 *SEG* 18.87 dated to ca. 249/8 BC by the editors.

61 *IG* II² 788 l. 9–10: ... Ἀντίδωρος λαχὼν ἱερεὺς τῆς Καλλίστης ἐνι/αυτὸν τὸν ἐπ' Ἐκφάντου ... The full text, a translation and references to the date are in STephen Lambert's Appendix n. 12 in this volume.

62 *IG* II² 2865 (second century BC). Not included in the above listing is the priest of Artemis Soteira, included in Parker 1996: 127 note 21, because *IG* II² 1343, which attests the priesthood and dates it to a specific year, is an inscription set up by the Soteriasts, a private religious association in the second half of the first century BC.

longer expressed the non-gentilician, temporary character of the priesthood: the priestess Euamera who dedicated a votive to Artemis characterises herself as ἱέρεια γενομένη διὰ βίου, created priestess for life.[63] The different formula used in an inscription of the first century BC makes it likely that the priest of Artemis Soteira had annual tenure.[64]

After 166 BC, the attested Athenian priests and priestesses on Delos had annual tenure.[65] One might argue that the restriction to one year was not necessarily the result of standards for priesthoods established in Athens, but may have been a good solution for the difficulty of undertaking an office abroad and the resulting need to be away from Athens for the length of the tenure. Athens meant not only family, friends and personal networks, but also business affairs and the conduct of all kinds of political and economic interests. Many Athenians probably had no interest in staying in Delos for more than one year, even if it could be expected to open up new perspectives for the family as well as for new economic projects.[66]

Apart from those mentioned above, other priests and priestesses may have been appointed for an annual tenure and perhaps by lot, as is often assumed in the research literature. But the detailed arguments for annual tenure in the case of any specific priesthood are most often based exclusively on the use of a priest's individual name in an eponymous manner on votive inscriptions in a sanctuary.[67] The results of prosopography have demonstrated that in the second and early first century BC, the priests in Delos were chosen from the Athenian residents on the island,[68] whereas since the first century AD, the priests of the Delian deities were most often made of Athenians in Athens.

The unambiguous attestations of annual tenure for priesthoods and for selection to annual priesthoods by sortition do not amount to much. The idea of a development from an older, pre-Cleisthenic cult-tradition at Athens, exclusively connected to the *gene*, towards newly created 'democratic' priesthoods after 451 that were annual in tenure and appointed by lot out of all the Athenians is very suggestive but perhaps too rigid. It seems preferable to be less categorical in interpreting both

63 *IG* II² 2874. The statue base was found on the Acropolis, and the priestess is probably of Artemis.

64 *IG* II² 1343 ll. 24–25: καταστα̣θεὶς δὲ καὶ ἱερεὺς τῆς Σωτείρας ἐν τῶι ἐ/πὶ Μενάνδρου ἄρχοντος …

65 See Bruneau 1970: 62–65 and *passim*, and Eric Perrin-Saminadayar in this volume.

66 On perspectives for young and/or female family of someone holding office on Delos, see Perrin-Saminadayar 2005.

67 See below sections 8 and 9.

68 See in this volume, Eric Perrin-Saminadayar's paper, p. 139.

ancient concepts concerning democratic office and priesthood and the attested variety in the realities of priesthoods.

The discussion of how much of the idea and how much of the reality of an autonomous democratic *polis* was left in Hellenistic and Roman Athens is closely linked with the evaluation of continuities and changes in institutions in these periods. The modern perception of the development of the Greek *polis*, and especially of the power of democratic institutions and magistracies, is often connected to changes in political climate and practice, and above all the external factor of increasing influence by Hellenistic kings, the Roman senate and Roman magistrates. The effect of these alleged changes in the concepts of democracy and democratic institutions are most often seen in the rise of a pseudo-democratic, more or less dependent *polis*.[69]

Not all of these developments and shifts are based on visible, explicit and obvious constitutional changes. However, with variations in period (third to first century BC), speed, external factors involved and institutions concerned, the following phenomena can be detected not only in Athens but in many cities of the Greek world:

- diminished power and a restricted set of functions for the assembly of the *demos* and, to a lesser extent, for the council or councils in a city,
- changes in the method of appointment of some of the magistrates
- an increase in power and range of function of some of the magistracies
- the creation of new magistracies and new functions in existing magistracies (a good example is the role of the hoplite general in Athens)[70]
- the identification of the people chosen for office as coming from a narrower group than in the late fifth and fourth century BC, namely a new circle said to be defined mainly by wealth
- the expectation of private financial engagement by office-holders, starting in the late fourth century and finally leading to the so-called 'Honoratiorenregime' in the late Hellenistic and Roman period

---

69 See Gauthier 1984 and Shipley/Hansen 2006 for an overview; Quaß 1993 is put in perspective by Habicht 1995: see Dreyer 2001 for Athens. The trend in recent years has been a retreat from this general vision, while the arguments for continuity and resilience in at least some democratic institutions in (many) Greek cities have gained ground: see Habicht 1995, Savalli-Lestrade 2003, Grieb 2008, Carlsson 2010.

70 For the development of the hoplite general, see Geagan 1997 with literature and references.

- the compatibility and parallelism between this 'Honoratioren-regime' (a city governed by a narrow group of wealth-defined upper-middle and upper class members) and the Roman model of a wealth-defined oligarchic-senatorial element in Republican and imperial Rome.

Many of these aspects are well attested in literary and epigraphic sources, but it is difficult to demonstrate the general trends, external influences and development in detail in any given city. Even if we take for granted the shift in institutional context sketched out above, does this have consequences for the priesthoods, and especially the priesthoods in Athens?

6. Roman concepts of priesthoods for Greek cities?

These and similar ideas are found in many descriptions of early Roman Athens. An example can be taken from an influential 1980 paper by James H. Oliver. The following quotation concerns the method of appointment of *genos* priests in early Augustan times: 'Neither rotation nor the election of "irresponsible" men seemed adequate for the new more oligarchic/upper and middleclass focused regime', whereas the 'old system of census classes, already denounced as too old-fashioned by Theophrastus was too unpopular for open advocacy. *Prohairesis*, however, remained as a less invidious safeguard.' Oliver then interprets the alleged reform of the *genos* priesthoods as a desire to appease Augustus and 'to assure the orderly continuation of the government and religion of Athens and to preclude emotional outburst by Athenians of the lowest class.'[71] Oliver explained the presumed diffidence about *gene* reform in the late 20s BC by the continued determination of the Athenian populace not to become overtly ruled by an oligarchic regime. Oligarchic methods of appointment and wealth-based criteria for participation, and selection to duties and offices, including the priesthoods, would all please the Romans but leave a bad taste for the Athenian people.

One text in which Roman ideas of the administration of Greek sanctuaries and the responsibility of priests in Eastern cities may have been a theme is the *senatus consultum de Sarapeo*, cited in an Athenian inscription concerning a sanctuary on Delos when the island was still

71 Oliver 1983: 16.

under Athenian administration.[72] The Serapeion on Delos was put under pressure by the Athenians and the official responsible (priest?), Demetrios, appealed to Rome, received the *senatus consultum* in his favour, and brought the senate's decision to Athens, where the boule discussed the case. A letter of the *strategoi* to the *epimeletes* of Delos was the result.[73] However, the *senatus consultum* is only mentioned in a very short and enigmatic reference.

We are thus left with only one inscribed text in which a Roman magistrate expresses more or less clearly what idea and kind of priesthoods he and the Roman government prefers and wants to see installed in Greek cities. This inscription is the edict of the proconsul of Asia, Paullus Fabius Persicus, issued in Latin and Greek in several examples in the first years of reign of Claudius.[74] The edict concerns the administration and revenues of the Artemision of Ephesos. Among other things, the proconsul admonishes the Ephesians for the practice of sale of priesthood, as an obvious sign of decline in their political culture and respect for the goddess Artemis.

> 'For these funds[75] are diverted by the corrupt desires of those persons who manage the common fund according as they think it convenient for their personal interests. For, as often as more cheerful news comes from Rome, they use this for their own private gain and, making the outward form of the divine house a screen, sell the priesthoods, as if at public auction and invite men of every kind to purchase them. Then they do not select the most worthy candidates, on whose heads the appropriate crown shall be placed, and they divide the revenues among the officiating priests, as much as they are willing to take, that they may appropriate as much as possible for themselves. … (lacuna of several lines) … It seems necessary to me that the city shall undertake these expenses, that the most suitable persons always shall be thought worthy of this honor from the people. It is my

72 *I. Delos* 1510. Demetrios of Rhenea, who was the person with principal responsibility for (priest of?) the Delian Serapeion, made an appeal to the Roman Senate because the existence of the shrine (or, more probably, Demetrios' own position) was threatened by someone. With the *senatus consultum* in hand he was able to get a letter from the Athenian strategoi, who wrote to the Athenian epimeletes of Delos 'not to prevent him from opening and serving his shrine as he has in the past', translation by Tracy 1979: 214. It is not known what argument Demetrios made to receive this senate decision.

73 Cf. Tracy 1982: 156–157.

74 *IK Eph.* 17–19. One in Greek was exhibited in the Agora (*IK Eph.* 18, perhaps from the South Gate), while another Greek one was located in the theatre (*IK Eph.* 17), and parts of the Latin example (*IK Eph.* 19) were also found in the theatre.

75 In the lines before the text cited above, the reader is told that the revenues of the temple of Artemis that had been restored by Augustus to the goddess would have been sufficient for the care and administration of the sanctuary.

> pleasure that a very heavy burden shall be eliminated by this decree. Since I know that the payment of the money will be vexatious and almost impossible for the city if it is compelled to count out at once what they have received from the purchasers (i.e. of the priesthoods), it is my pleasure that the city shall pay over to the priests not more than one per cent of the price paid at that time for the priesthood, in accordance with the constitution of Vedius Pollio, which also has been confirmed by the deified Augustus. It is not my pleasure that the priests shall give anything to the Senate or on the other hand that they shall receive anything therefrom.'[76]

A list of misdeeds by officeholders and priests follows. They had diminished the revenues of the goddess and damaged the reputation of the Artemision considerably. Later in the text, new regulations curtail the rights and opportunities of magistrates and priests to make a profit from the goddess's revenues and property.

The reason for all these disgraceful developments is identified as the unworthiness of the men selected. It follows that the main source of the problem was the method of appointment, which selected men who are not among those who a city should honour with a crown (*stephanos*). The method that led to these inappropriate and detestable effects was the auction of the priesthood, an office for which suitability should be the only criterion. Leaving aside this specific method of appointment, which, as far as we know, was practiced only in some cities of Asia Minor, some Aegean islands and some cities in the region of the Black Sea,[77] the Roman proconsul's main concern seems to be the idea that only a specific group of citizens is suitable for priesthood and priests should only be selected from this group. Suitable, worthy (i.e. potentially crown-wearing) men are implicitly defined by their way of life, especially by taking on responsibilities for the welfare of others and hence by membership of the upper-class defined by wealth, by office-holding, liturgies and benefactions. This idea of a specific 'suitability' for the priesthood is an aristocratic way of perceiving priesthoods that differs from the norm in the Greek world. In Greece, not

---

76 Translation by Johnson/Coleman-Norton/Bourne 1961: 141–142 (document 171); *IK Eph.* 18 = *McCabe* 228, b 8–20: περισπᾶ/ται γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἄδικον ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν οὕτως τοῦ κοι/(10)νοῦ προϊσταμένων, ὡς ἑαυτοῖς λυσιτελεῖν νομίζου/σιν· ὁσάκις τε γὰρ ἂν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἱλαρωτέρα ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία, ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποχρῶνται πορισ/μὸν τό τε σχῆμα τῆς θείας οἰκίας προκάλυμμα / ποιούμενοι τὰς ἱερωσύνας ὥσπερ ἐν ἀπαρτεί/(15)ᾳ πιπράσκουσιν καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἐπὶ τὴν ὠνὴν αὐτῶν συνκ<α>λοῦσιν ἀνθρώπους, εἶτα οὐκ ἐγλέγονται τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, ὧν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὁ πρέπων ἐπιτεθήσεται στέφανος· προσόδους / [τε ὁρ]ίζουσιν τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, ὅσας ἂν οἱ λαμβάνον/(20)[τες θε]λήσωσιν, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον αὐτοὶ νοσφίζωνται.

77 See e.g. Dignas 2003: 251–271; Horster 2006: 198; Buraselis 2008.

only could women become priests, but, apart from some special requirements for a few special priesthoods (e.g. the Athenian *genos* priesthoods already mentioned), it is citizenship, good health and a standard life-style which made a man or woman a potential candidate for a priesthood of a *polis* cult or of one of its sub-divisions.

The Roman idea of priesthood is obviously different.[78] Not only are female priests a rare exception, but, like a Roman magistrate's life-membership of the senate (and from imperial times to the senatorial class as well), most of the highest priesthoods of the state cults in the city of Rome were linked to membership in the senate, and all of the priesthoods like the *Pontifices*, *Salii*, *Augures* etc. were appointments for life.[79] Co-optation was evidently the standard way to recruit members to such high priesthoods.[80] In consequence, in the city of Rome, the public priesthoods and access to these priesthoods were a distinctive feature and characteristic of the senatorial elite.[81]

7. From annual tenure to life tenure: *dia biou*

A key point in the debate over changes in the conception of priesthoods in Athens under Roman domination is the question of whether this kind of Roman 'aristocratic idea' of priesthoods is manifested in the tenure of priesthoods, moving from annual to lifelong, *dia biou*, appointments.[82] The institution of lifelong *genos* priesthoods discussed

78 Scheid's 1984 discussion of the character of the priesthoods and the role of the priests in the Late Republic is seminal; cf. also Beard 1990; Gordon 1990. Beard, North, Price 1998: 18–30 is a subchapter on 'The priests and religious authority'.

79 According to Rüpke 2011: 31, the *vicomagistri* were one of the few Roman minor priesthoods which were taken over for only one year. Rüpke 2005: I 27 explains the integration of these men into his list of priests and priesthoods with the argument that they were responsible for the implementation of the imperial cult in the 265 *vici* of Rome and for the creation of a religious context for these small local areas. However, these duties relate only to the period after the reorganisation of the *vici* in 12 BC and the adaptation of the duties of the *magistri* of these regional units to the new, systematised form.

80 Scheid 1984: 249–254 with a list of co-opted priests, 274–278 for the development of the ways of recruiting the priests. Co-optation could be replaced by or combined with an election or at least nomination by the people. See North 2011 on the aim and consequences of the *Lex Domitia* of 104/103 BC.

81 For the annual lists of priesthoods and a prosopography of the members of the major priestly *collegia* in Rome, see Rüpke 2005: vol. III (lists), vol. II (prosopography). Rüpke 2011 presents a comparative overview of the priesthoods with a focus on the Imperial period.

82 Follet 1976: 145–148 discussion of the term and its meaning in Athens.

above in itself conveys the notion of tradition, antiquity and respectability through ancestry even if not all members of the *gene* were *de facto* members of the upper-class as defined by wealth. The tradition, standing and respectability of these priesthoods were therefore not only connected to the membership to a *genos* but probably also to the length of their tenure.[83] The other Athenian priesthoods, the so-called democratic ones, differ from the old *genos* priesthoods not primarily in their method of appointment, as Sara Aleshire, Stephen Lambert and Josine Blok have shown, but in the body from which they were selected, potentially all Athenians, and by the duration of office, for a year.

As regards the length of tenure, by the first century BC there is indeed a change – a visible, readable, and in proclamations and formulaic forms of address probably also audible change. Until that period, the appellation of '*hiereus dia biou*' is uncommon in Athens and will at no time become a widespread designation for priests who held their priesthood for life – either as an exception to the rule or as the standard provision for that specific priesthood.

From the late first century BC onwards, some of the priests of Asklepios, of the imperial cult and only a few others were termed ὁ διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς or ὁ ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου.[84] In Athens, this appellation is used

83 An elected or allotted officeholder might resign from office to pass it to someone else, as attested once in the case of Lykourgos' son Habron, who resigned for some reason in favour of his younger brother Lykophron, [Plut.], *X Orat.* 843 e–f (Life of Lykourgos), on which see above, text cited in note 34. Cf. Aleshire 1994: 328, Blok/Lambert 2009: 97.

84 The change from the annual rotation of the Asklepios priests to lifelong tenure is dated to 25 BC – AD 10, cf. Aleshire 1989: 85–86. Priests of Asklepios Soter (and Hygieia): *IG* II² 2481 (+ more, cf. *SEG* 39.209 and *ZPE* 85 (1991) 146–148 face A), 3120, 3176, (restored in 3630), 3653, 3704, 3728 (cf. *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 55 no. 18), 4380 (cf. *SEG* 39.228), 4481, 4532, *SEG* 28.335, 38.186, 39.209, see Aleshire 1989: 85–86. Priests of the Imperial cult: *IG* II² 1074, 3184, 3261, 3263?, 3274, 3392, *SEG* 12.94, 17.35, 47.163, *Agora* 15 no. 322, 324, for the priesthoods and the attested priests of the imperial cult in Athens esp. under Augustus and in the first century, see Spawforth 1997, Lozano 2002 and the catalogue of priests in Kantiréa 2007: 218–224. Probably the priestess of Aphrodite of Rhamnous: *IG* II² 2030, priest of Artemis: *IG* II² 2874, Artemis Kalliste *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 242 no. 42; of Eukleia and Eunomia: *IG* II² 4193a, 4193b, (restored in *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 72 no. 32). Priest or priestess (of unknown deity) *IG* II² 3359 = *I. Eleusis* 435, 3576, 3950, 4495?. In the imperial period, the priest of Delian Apollo is sometimes also exceptionally called *dia biou*: *IG* II² 2452, 2472, 3535, *I. Delos* 1593, 1626, 1628, 2535, 2536, 2538 etc. and many more restored, see with further evidence Bruneau 1970: 64, Follet 1976: 149–199. A *kosmetes* for life for the deities of the deme Alopeke is attested by *IG* II² 3683, a lifelong priest of a cult organisation *IG* II² 2361, another priest *dia biou* probably of a private cult association by *IG* II² 7175. On Delos, already in the year 102/101 BC an Athenian is called ὁ διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς Ποσειδῶνος

for priesthoods which had not had annual tenure in the past (Asklepios), those which were still annual but were exceptionally prolonged for a specific individual, but also for those which had always been lifelong, such as, probably, the priest of Apollo Patroos, a genos priesthood.[85] However, the total number of priests individually characterised in inscriptions as holding office *dia biou* is much smaller in the imperial period than, for example, the number of *paidotribai*, *grammateis*, *epistatai*, the *didaskaloi* and some other officials. All in all, the number of attestations for a shift from annual to lifelong tenure of priesthoods is not impressive. In imperial times, some newly created priesthoods were annual as the priest of Drusus Consul or (one of) the well attested priests of Antinoos.[86] In addition, apart from the priesthoods named in section 6 above, in which the evidence for annual tenure in the classical and Hellenistic period is not in doubt, it is sometimes argued that another indicator for annual tenure is the eponymous use of the priest's name in (votive-)inscriptions. To get an impression of the character of the priesthoods in the late Hellenistic and imperial period and to see if there really was a significant change in the number of priesthoods whose tenure changed from annual to lifelong, the eponymous use of the priests' names will be examined more closely in the next section.

8. Eponymy

In modern scholarship, the expression 'priestly eponymy' is most often for when a priest's name is included in stone inscriptions and votives set up by others in 'his' or 'her' sanctuary. This kind of priestly eponymy, which is restricted to a sanctuary, is a widespread phenomenon, whereas only a few Greek cities have what Sherk has called the 'true eponymy' of priests: that is, where a *polis* designates the year with the personal name of a priest rather than or in addition to that of an office-holder. What then is priestly eponymy and what does it denote: Does it imply an annual priesthood? Or the right to have one's name attached to a votive dedicated by someone else? What is the purpose of eponymy if it is not combined with a definite and regular length of time? Is

---

Αἰσίου (*I. Delos* 1562, 1574, 1581, 1582, 1902, *SEG* 40.657) but evidently this was not a public one but that of a private cult organisation, cf. Bruneau 1970: 265.

85 Priesthood *dia biou* of Apollo Patroos by the *genos* of the Gephyraeans *IG* II² 3629, 3630.

86 Priest of Drusus Consul, see below note 88; priest of Antinoos chosen of the ephebes, e.g. *IG* II² 2065, 2067.

there any connection between the (more or less) democratic idea of annual tenure for officeholders and for that of priesthoods?

A true eponym can be defined in a general way as an 'official, annually elected or chosen, whose name is used to date official documents of the city throughout the current year'.[87] A special Athenian case of true eponymy is the short period in which the priest of Drusus Consul was sometimes linked to the annual office of the eponymous archon.[88] In the imperial period, the hoplite general in Athens was sometimes used for dating, with or without combination with the archon, but in general not on official state documents but in dedications.[89] In several volumes of *ZPE*, Robert Sherk published a collection and discussion of the 'Eponymous Officials of Greek cities'. Like others, he distinguishes between true and 'false' eponymy. However, even true eponymy may, at a local level, use two combined eponym dates, for example the archon of Athens and the demarch of an Athenian deme (in deme records and decrees), or the federal archon of the Boeotian Confederacy together with a local archon of Tanagra, because these two eponyms each represent a 'different administrative and political entity.'[90]

In contrast to the true eponym, the false eponym is responsible not for an administrative and political entity but for a specific duty, function or location. Athenian examples would be the offices of the *tamias* as treasurer responsible for financial records or for the collection of manumission taxes, the gymnasiarch for young men, the *agonothetes* for the competitions and the rewards for victors in contests. All the these magistrates' and liturgists' names structure lists and inventories into years, but in most cases they do not use the standard eponymic formula of *epi* plus title and name or name and title, which is reserved for the true *eponymos,* the archon (sometimes combined with the name of a

87 Sherk 1990a: 256.

88 This priesthood is attested (always in combination with the eponymous archon) from c. 8/7 BC until the reign of Trajan: *IG* II² 1069, 1722–1726, 1730, 1968, 1989, 1990, 1995, 3120, 3176, 3543, 3589, 4188, 4193a, 4193b *SEG* 31.122, 38.186 and some more inscriptions, see also Follet 2004: 156 with note 99. She argues that (at least in the reign of Augustus) from the date of 8/7 BC all eponymous archons should have held that priesthood, and the absence of it in the inscriptional record is a sign that an archon's date is unlikely to be later than 9/8 BC.

89 Geagan 1967: 6–10 discussed the post-Sullan evidence for the eponymous archon and gives various examples where the archon as eponymous is combined in inscriptions in specific contexts with other magistrates. Sherk 1990a: 269–279 considers the offices of the eponymous archon, the demarch, the hoplite general, a *hieropoios* of the Tetrapolis as used in an eponymous manner.

90 Sherk 1990a: 286.

grammateus of the *boule* or another magistracy).[91] Responsibility of any kind seems to be the decisive factor for the various uses of explicit (with *epi* …) or less explicit links (e.g. with the use of a participle to indicate office-holding) to the person during whose term of office something was done, and documented in an inscription. In a few cases, the only reasonable explanation for the use of a false eponym is not direct responsibility but the prestige and renown of the office or institution represented by the false eponym on a local or international level. This seems a good explanation for eponymous use of the name of the priest of Amphiaraus of Oropos in inscriptions of the third and second century BC. These inscriptions are not in any way related to the affairs of the sanctuary and it is not even certain that they were all published in the sanctuary.[92] In the case of the priest of Amphiaraus is seems to be a matter of local politics with an eye on international affairs that gave rise to this use of a false eponym.

However, even if the use of false eponymy is mainly used to indicate responsibility in the territory, realm, function or duty for which the office-holder is responsible, it is generally assumed that 'false' eponymy is still intended to be a unambiguous marker of the year in which the inscription was made. In only one of his several hundred pages about the uses of eponymy does Robert Sherk ask, in his discussion of Rhodes, why, although in many or perhaps all Greek cities lists of gymnasiarchs were kept and 'in any reference to past events of the gymnasium this or that gymnasiarch could be called "eponymous"', and how a certain Kallistratos could be 'both eponymous gymnasiarch and gymnasiarch for life?'[93] His cautious explanation is: 'Perhaps he would hold that post only when no other could be found to hold it, even after his death by means of endowment.' Sherk is obviously convinced that annual tenure has to be a basic requirement for all uses of *epi* plus the genitive case, to make sense of the indication of the name of the office-

---

91 One example is Panathenaic amphorae on which the name of the responsible archon was marked until 312/11, after which date it was the title and individual name of the treasurer of military funds, ὁ ταμίας τῶν στ[ρα]τιωτι[κ]ῶν, not in an eponymous function but as a reference to his responsibility: see Edwards 1957: 331–333.

92 E.g. *I. Oropos* 4–6, 53–61, 66–72, 224, 521. Sherk 1990a: 285–286. Some of the priests of Amphiaraus had also been 'true' eponymous federal archons ἄρχοντος ἐν κοινοῖ (name) ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀμφιεράου, e.g. *I. Oropos* 60, 69–70, 122, 129–130, 196, 201–202, 210, 256.

93 Sherk 1990b: 285 the inscription with the 'eponymous gymnasiarch' is *Lindos* 2.465f (c. AD 180): … Πό/πλιον Αἴλιον Καλλίστρατον … τὸν δι' αἰῶνος φιλο/τειμότατον ἐν τᾷ μεγάλᾳ / πόλει Ῥόδῳ ἐπώνυμον / γυμνασίαρχον νεώτερον, … Sherk's publications in the *ZPE* 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993.

holder in whose year of office something had taken place and was inscribed on stone.

Compared to archons or *prytaneis* (often also with the *stephanephoros* title), priests are relatively rare eponym officials. Well attested examples are the priest of the Sun in Rhodes, the priest of Athena in Arcadian Tegea, the priest of Athena at Lindos, sometimes combined with other divinities as a local eponym, the priest of Zeus at Labraunda in Caria, the priest of Dionysus in Dionysopolis, several eponymous priests in Macedonian cities of the post-Philip II era, the priest of Alexander and the Ptolemies in Alexandria, etc.[94] In Athens, only a few of the known annual priesthoods were used as false eponyms in inscriptions set up in the sanctuary under their charge. The Hellenistic inventories of the Asklepieion, which were structured year by year with the name of the annual priest, are the best attested example.[95] The annual change of the priest is therefore a precondition for this kind of recordkeeping. The other inventories of Athenian sanctuaries, most of them of the late fifth and fourth century, are organised in another mode because in the sanctuaries on the Acropolis and in the Artemision at Brauron the priestesses were chosen for life.[96] Therefore, the treasurers (*tamiai*) were named as the responsible magistrates for the wealthy sanctuary of Athena Polias. The treasurers of the Other Gods (the name changing over time) were responsible for several of the sanctuaries in Athens and Attica; and the dedications of clothing to Artemis in Brauron are listed in inventories dated by the name of the Athenian eponymous archon. 'The process and records of inventorying ensured and demonstrated the continuity and proper handling of the physical manifestation of piety, as well as recording any other transactions pertinent to the dedications, in a way that transcended the annual transfer of the priesthood.'[97] The Delian inventories of the Hellenistic period change their organisation when the independence of the Delians ceased in 167 BC. Until that time the Delian *hieropoioi* had been responsible for the administration of the sanctuaries' finances and the management of

94 A list of all probable or potential 'true' eponymous priests is given by Sherk 1993: 278–279.

95 See above note 2. For the inventories of Asklepios, see Aleshire 1989, for the prosopography, Aleshire 1991.

96 Harris 1995 on the Acropolis inventories, Linders 1972 on the treasurers responsible for the inventory and Cleland 2005 for more on the organisation of the inventories and the items included.

97 Cleland 2005: 7.

the leases, incoming rents and interest payments.[98] As soon as the Athenians took over the administration of the island, the free port and the rich sanctuary, the inventories were structured in a new way,[99] and the year is named after the Athenian archon, followed by the Delian *epistates*. A priest's name marking the year in an inventory as early as the fourth century BC is therefore exceptional and remarkable. When compared to most of the other inventories of sanctuaries known from Athens that were served by a lifelong priest or priestess, it is obvious that the structuring of the inventories' text by the eponymous priest of Asklepios has its only and legitimising reason in his annual office. It is not necessary to assume a general change in accounting practices and the organisation of record keeping because of this difference in documentation.

Apart from the priesthood of Asklepios in the city, there is little evidence for this kind of (false) eponymous use of annual Athenian priesthoods from late classical into Roman times. The earliest probably annual *polis* priesthoods used in inscriptions with this kind of false eponymy are:[100] the priest of an unknown deity in the (late?) fourth century,[101] the priest of Asklepios in the city,[102] priest of the Mother at the Metroon in the late fourth century BC,[103] the priestess of Nemesis and Themis in the fourth and third century.[104] From the third century BC some other, most likely annual, priesthoods are attested with eponymous use of particular priests and priestesses.[105] They include one of the priests of the Eponymous Hero (drawn from within a tribe),[106] the priest of (Artemis) Kalliste (and Ariste) from the mid-third to the first

98 Vial 1984: 216–232 the *hieropoioi* ('les trésoriers de la cité' and 'les conservateurs des offrandes') were responsible for taking the inventories of all temples in collaboration with the respective priests and the *neokoroi* (if appointed for a sanctuary).

99 Hamilton 2000: 2–5, with a short description of the shift in format and in textual organisation of the items listed.

100 Excluded are the eponymous priests of private cult associations as e.g. in *IG* II² 1279 (decree of the group, 'dated' in the last line); also excluded is the priest of Artemis Agrotera discussed above, whose eponymy is not mentioned in the context of a votive-inscription (see page 179 note 59). Parker 1996: 127 presents several of these priests and inscriptions, and see also Lambert 2010: 158–161. Vellek 1969 does not discuss the issue in general, but gives short comments on the priesthoods concerned.

101 *IG* II² 4427 (votive).

102 Apart from the inventories: *IG* II² 4428 = 4271a (votive).

103 *IG* II³ 4595 in the archonship of Euthykritos, 328/27 BC.

104 *IG* II² 3109 (beginning of the third century), 4638a and b (Rhamnous, votive in the fourth century).

105 Priestess of unknown goddess: *IG* II² 4682.

106 See above p. 178-179 with notes 56–58.

century BC,[107] probably the priestess of Eileithyia,[108] the priestess of Artemis at Melite in the fourth century BC,[109] in the late third century BC the priest of the Demos and Charites with a dedication of the boule, the date of the archon and his own name added in an eponymous function,[110] and, finally, the priest of Artemis Agrotera in the second century BC.[111] In the imperial period, the names of the priests of the imperial cult are often attached to votives in an eponymous manner, but apart from some annual ones, like the ones for Drusus Consul and Antinoos, most are for life.[112] In the case of the priestess of Artemis Soteira it is not eponymous, but is combined with the archon's date, as also attested for a priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos in the third century BC.[113] For these last two female priesthoods, annual tenure is therefore likely, but not certain. The nature or type of the inscriptions, decrees, records and dedications combining the archon's name with the priest's name are instead positive, unambiguous proofs of annual tenure for the priesthood, that is, so to speak, a 'normal' false eponymy. That the dating of dedications by reference to a priest indicates annual tenure is a proposition that would fit well with Robert Sherk's approach to false eponymy, and this is what, for example, Robert Parker assumes as the most probable way of interpreting texts like this.[114] However, in some of the cases cited above, the evidence is ambiguous, because the inscriptions on which the assumption of annual tenure is based are private dedications without a reference to the year dated by the eponymous archon.[115]

The assumption that these priesthoods, too, were annual in tenure emanates from the comparison to the other priesthoods and the general impression that annual tenure was the norm in all non-*genos* priesthoods of Hellenistic and early Roman times and the few (perhaps

---

107 The earliest inscriptions are *SEG* 18.87 (249/48?), *IG* II² 1298 (236/5), *IG* II² 788 (235/4). See also above paragraph 5.

108 *SEG* 24.226 at an unknown date.

109 *SEG* 22.116 (ca. 330 BC).

110 *IG* II² 2798 late third century

111 See above p. 179 with note 59.

112 See above p. 188 with note 88.

113 The above note 64 with *IG* II² 1343 (37/36 BC) for the priestess of Artemis Agrotera, *IG* II² 659 in the archonship of Euthios, 283/82 BC.

114 Parker 1996: 127 note 21.

115 Priest of an unknown deity (note 101), priestess of Nemesis and Themis, priestess of Eileithyia, priestess of Artemis at Melite. However, as the annual tenure of the priest of Asklepios (in the city) is well attested, the use of his name in an eponymous manner without reference to the archon indicates that such a practice is used for annual as well as (see below) for lifelong priesthoods in their own sanctuaries.

newly created) non-imperial-cult ones attested in Roman times. Apart from a few male priests who are named on some dedications, the mass of the private dedications that indicate the name of the priest without reference to an archon date concern female priesthoods, not only in some of the late classical and Hellenistic inscriptions cited above but also in many from the Roman period, even though they are dominated in quantity by the Eleusinian material.

In addition to the many known late Hellenistic and Roman dedications of or for children and young female and male cult attendants on the Acropolis and at Eleusis, with a reference to the priestess in office, and thus in an eponymous mode, many of the other inscribed attestations for priestesses in Hellenistic and Roman times are also dedications set up on private initiative. Although we know of at least one example in which a priestess was honoured by the demos and boule with a crown at the end of her year of office,[116] almost all the inscribed individual honorary decrees in Athens concern male priests. However, the private dedications in honour of a priestly office-holder most often concern a female office-holder. If the mere presence of an office and the name of an office-holder in stone indicates prestige, then in the Hellenistic and Roman period female priestly offices had gained a lot of prestige, perhaps even superseding the male ones – but this premise may be doubted.

9. Lifelong priesthoods and priestly eponymy

Apart from some less prominent Athenian cults and a few inscribed dedications and monuments in the City Asklepieion in which in the imperial period the ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου of Asklepios (Soter and Hygieia) is named in an eponymous fashion,[117] there are two sanctuaries in which

116 *SEG* 33.115 probably in 250/49, for the text and translation see Stephen Lambert in this volume, p. 94 Appendix no. 8. The son of Timokrate, the priestess of Aglauros, renders the account (*apangelia*) of her priesthood and makes the proposal to honour his mother with a crown, as the standard procedure for a priestess who fulfilled her duties in the best possible way.

117 Dedications: *IG* II² 3635 (after c. AD 150) set up according to a decree of the Areopagos for a kanephoros [ἐπὶ ἱερέως] Ἀγαθόποδος, *IG* II² 4532 (c. AD 220) ἐπὶ ἱε[ρέ]ως διὰ βίου / Φλαβ[ίου] Ὀνησικρά/τους, dates according to Aleshire 1989: 86 note 1; Sarapion monument *IG* II² 2481 (+ more, cf. *SEG* 39.209, new edition in *ZPE* 85 (1991) 146–148 face A, catalogue of Paianistai *IG* II² 2481 = *SEG* 32.220 = 39.194. Aleshire op.cit. also includes *IG* II² 4481 (AD 85–95) in her list of dedications, but here it is not the priest but the archon together with the *epimeletes* of the Asklepieion whose name and title date the inscription.

the praxis of eponymous 'dating' with the priest's name on a dedicated object or an inscribed stele is well attested from the Hellenistic period onwards. The increasing quantity of the material with the priestesses' name on the Acropolis and at Eleusis in inscribed dedications in the Hellenistic and Roman period is one of the arguments that have led e.g. Judy Turner and Joan Connelly to speak of the prominent and rising role of women in religion, with a peak in the imperial period.[118] To assume that the quantity of inscribed evidence is an indicator of authority and prestige runs counter to the different and prominent presence of male priests on inscribed stones, and to their overall presence as benefactors and office-holders in portrait-statues all over the city.[119] The most prominent such false-eponym office-holders were not the annual priests and priestesses listed above, but the lifelong *genos* priestesses of Athena Polias and of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. The notion of 'false' eponymy does not fit these priesthoods, as they do not date the dedication to a year.

The inscribed names of the priestesses of Athena on votives presented in the sanctuary on the Athenian Acropolis that are still readable on the surviving bases, pillars and other larger objects of stone are mostly on private dedications set up by family members of the priestess or set up in honour for someone else and 'dated' by the priestess' name. The following list of inscriptions is selected from the catalogue of inscribed votives, most often statue bases, dedicated to Athena in Athens.[120] The information given below concerns the person in whose honour or memory the votive was offered. The reference to the *vacat* and the place of the eponymic phrase in the list below is intended to give an idea of the visual presentation of the inscribed name of the priestess. The priestess's name in the list is given only by her personal name and the name of her father. The deme is generally recorded in the inscriptions but is not included in the following list. Numbers followed by a letter (e.g. 15a) indicate that the eponymous use of the priestess' name in this inscription is not assured.

---

118 Turner 1983: 390–412; Connelly 2007: 5–6, 67–69, 135–135, 142–146 and *passim*.

119 In addition, in the Roman period the newly installed Athenian priests of the imperial cult were almost all male, even those who served the deified empresses: see the prosopography in Kantiréa 2007.

120 Müller's 2010 collection is limited to the post–classical dedications on (and next to) the Acropolis in which the name of Athena is explicitly present in the text.

End of fourth cent. BC:

1) *IG* II² 4333 fragmentary inscription, female dedicant and probably other members of the family, no *vacat* below dedication, last line with eponymic name of priestess lost.

Second half third cent. BC:

2) *IG* II² 3470 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros with statue, vacats in lines below dedication and above the artists name, eponymous priestess Penteteris, daughter of Hierokles

3) *IG* II² 3471 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros, no *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Penteteris, daughter of Hierokles.

4) *IG* II² 3472 mostly complete, dedication by ex-arrephoros to Athena and Pandrosos, no *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Theodote, daughter of Polyktos, followed by a line with the artist's name.

4a) perhaps: *IG* II² 3461 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros, no *vacat* below dedication, lines below dedication might have named the eponymous priestess, followed by the eponymous dating with the names of the archons.

5) *IG* II² 3473 + 4283 mostly complete, dedication by ex-arrephoros, *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Philotera, daughter of Hermippos, followed by line with the artist's name.

5a) perhaps: *IG* II² 3466 very fragmentary, ex-arrephoros, one of the last two lines might have included an eponym dating with the priestess's name.

Second century BC:

6) *IG* II² 3486 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros with statue, lines below dedication with probably the name of the eponymous priestess Chrysis, daughter of Niketos.

First century BC:

7) *IG* II² 3497 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros, *vacat* below dedication, followed by eponymous priestess Stratokleia.

Augustean / First century AD:

8) *IG* II² 3515 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros, no *vacat* below dedication, followed by eponymous priestess Kallist(rate?).

9) *IG* II² 3516 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros with statue, *vacat* below dedication, followed by eponymous priestess Alexandra, daughter of Leon.

10) *IG* II² 4341 fragmentary name and status of dedicator lost,[121] the name of the goddess, followed by the eponymous priestess Alexandra, daughter of Leon.

---

121 Schmalz 2009: 210–211 nr. 276 assumes an ex–arrephoros.

11) *IG* II² 3554 large statue base for a bronze statue in honour of the ex-arrephoros (and kanephoros) Tertia which was set up by the boule and the demos. Five nicely arranged inscriptions on the front of the stone, four *coronae*, the first inscription on the top names in the fifth (last) line the priestess Stratokleia (without father's name and deme) in an eponymous fashion.

12) *IG* II² 3555 fragmentary, ex-arrephoros, no *vacat* below the dedication, followed by eponymous priestess (name lost).

Late first/early second century AD

13) probably *IG* II² 4247 fragmentary, perhaps an ex-arrephoros, no *vacat* below dedication, followed by (eponymous) lost name of a priestess, daughter of Medeios.

Second century AD:

14) *IG* II² 3596 statue base with inscription in which Claudius Atticus, Athenian imperial priest (and father of Herodes Atticus) is honoured by the city of Gytheion in Laconia as their saviour and founder. After a *vacat*, in the last two lines is the name of the priestess Athenion (without father's name and deme).

15) *IG* II² 2810 statue base with inscription in which L. Aemilius Carus is honoured by the city of Ascalon, no *vacat*, last two lines with the name of the priestess Athenion (without father's name and deme).

15a) perhaps *IG* II² 3612 fragmentary, decree in honour of an Athenian woman, no vacat below decree; at the end of the inscription perhaps the name of the priestess in an eponymous manner.

In these inscriptions on votives in the sanctuary of Athena, the 'eponymous' use of the priestess of Athena has no dating function to a specific year at all. In most cases, however, the priestesses are named on votives for arrephoroi/errephoroi. In contrast to many other dedications with priestly dating, in these cases the priestly woman named had been the tutor and supervisor of these young cult-officials. Only a few of the attested arrephoroi/errephoroi and ex-arrephoroi/ errephoroi leave out the names of the priestesses (in this eponymous way) in the inscriptions that are part of their dedications to Athena on the Acropolis.[122]

---

122 The following votive-inscriptions of/for ex-arrephoroi lack the 'dating' and thus the name of the priestess of Athena: *IG* II² 3488 (beginning of the 1st cent. BC); *IG* II² 3496 (1st cent. BC), *IG* II² 3556 (1st cent. AD, an honorific statue set up by boule and demos); *IG* II² 3528 (1st cent. AD); *IG* II² 3634 (late 2nd cent. AD ?). Not included in the above list are dedications to Athena which were not found on the Acropolis, e.g. a votive set up for Athena Soteira by parents to commemorate her daughter, an ex-kanephoros *IG* II² 3483 (2nd cent. BC), found near the theatre of Dionysos.

In the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis the picture is quite similar to the one drawn by the inscriptional evidence of the Acropolis. The following list includes all 'eponymic' references on inscribed monuments of the Eleusinian sanctuary.[123]

Late second / early first century BC:

1) *IG* II² 3475+3476 = *I. Eleusis* 244, female hearth-initiate, no *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Glauke daughter of Menedemos.

First century BC:

2) *IG* II² 3220 = *I. Eleusis* 267, kanephoros, Clinton 2008: 285 assumes that she might also have been a hearth initiate; honours in *coronae*, below in two lines the eponymous priestess Ameinokleia daughter of Philantes.

3) *IG* II² 3469 = *I. Eleusis* 275, exegete of the Eumolpidai is honoured (on an erased inscription, a new statue was put in place of another, earlier on the base) by boule and demos by a votive dedicated to Demeter and Kore, a vacant line is followed by one line with smaller letters with the eponymous priestess Kleokrateia daughter of Oinophilos.

4) *IG* II² 4704 = *I. Eleusis* 279 after a *vacat*, only the dating with the priestess's name Kleokrateia daughter of Oinophilos is left, the bottom was re-cut for later use.

5) *IG* II² 4716 = *I. Eleusis* 281, statue base with fragmentary inscription, a *vacat* below dedication is followed by the eponymous priestess Kleokrateia daughter of Oinophilos.

6) *IG* II² 3498 = *I. Eleusis* 282, statue base inscribed in honour of a hearth-initiate that was also kanephoros of Sarapis. The name of the girl was probably inscribed on the statue, the eponymous priestess Chairion daughter of Dionysos is in the first line, after a *vacat* follow the honours dedicated by boule and demos in *coronae*.

7) *I. Eleusis* 284, small fragment of a statue base with eponymous priestess (name is lost).

First century AD:

8) *IG* II² 3723 = *I. Eleusis* 317 (perhaps still end of first cent. BC), statue base for hearth-initiate, eponymous priestess Ithake, her father's name and the deme are left out.

9) *IG* II² 3261 = *I. Eleusis* 334, large honorific monument for the Emperor Tiberius set up by the Areopagos, boule and demos, [eponymous priestess Kleo] daughter [of Eukles], probably in the second and

123 The list is based on the latest edition of the Eleusinian inscriptions by Clinton 2005 (*I. Eleusis*).

third line of the building inscription. Set up by a male priest for life (for the emperor?).

10) *I. Eleusis* 335, monument in honour of [Iulia Augusta] by Areopagos, boule, and demos; eponymous priestess Kleo daughter of Eukles [wife of Nikodemos]. Perhaps set up by a male priest of the imperial cult.

10a) *IG* II² 4721 = *I. Eleusis* 342 either a monument dedicated by Kleo daugher of Eukles (the nominative is not secured) or mentioned here as eponymous priestess.[124]

11) *IG* II² 3530 = *I. Eleusis* 344, statue base in honour of the high priest of Tiberius, below dedication *vacat* followed by three lines with the eponymous priestess Kleo daughter of Eukles

12) *IG* II² 4722 + fragm. = *I. Eleusis* 358, monument in honour of a distinguished Athenian who held many offices in Athens (i.a. gymnasiarch, agonothete of the Kaisareia, hoplite general), no *vacat* below dedication, last four lines with the eponymous priestess Kleo daughter of Eukles, wife of Nikodemos.

13) *IG* II² 3604A = *I. Eleusis* 364, statue base for female hearth-initiate, continuous text of honour and after a small space of a two-letter *vacat* the eponymous priestess Kleo daughter of Eukles, wife of Nikodemos at the end of a line.

14) *IG* II² 3585 = *I. Eleusis* 371, statue base in honour of a *hierophantis*, *vacat* below dedication, followed by eponymous priestess Claudia Timothea, daughter of Timotheos.

15) *IG* II² 3584 = *I. Eleusis* 372, large statue base for unknown purpose and person, set up because of an *hypomnema* of the Areopagos, *vacat* below dedication, followed by eponymous priestess Claudia Timothea, daughter of Timotheos.

16) *IG* II² 3586 = *I. Eleusis* 373 statue base for a male hearth-initiate, no *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Claudia Timothea, daughter of Timotheos.

17) *IG* II² 3587 = *I. Eleusis* 374 statue base for a male hearth-initiate, no *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Claudia Timothea (without her father's name).

18) *IG* II² 3588 = *I. Eleusis* 375 small fragment of a statue base?, after a *vacat*, the (mostly restored) name of the eponymous priestess Claudia Teimothea, daughter of Timotheos.

18a) *I. Eleusis* 376 statue base for unknown person, perhaps with eponymous dating by Claudia Timothea.

---

124 See Clinton 2008: 320 and cf. *IG* II² 4720 = *I. Eleusis* 341, a monument dedicated by Kleo daughter of Eukles, set up by a male priest of the Demos and Augusta Dikaiosyne.

19) *IG* II² 3568 = *I. Eleusis* 395 statue base in honour of a female hearth-initiate, in small letters eponymous date of priestess (name lost) in the last line.

20) *IG* II² 4768 + fragm. = *I. Eleusis* 405 very fragmentary, probably eponymous priestess's name lost, daughter of name lost.

20a) probably *IG* II² 4767 = *I. Eleusis* 406, statue base for unknown person, perhaps with a priestly date.

Second century AD:

21) *IG* II² 3546 = *I. Eleusis* 433, large statue base for two persons, two texts both with vacant lines below dedication/honorific text, last lines with eponymous priestess Flavia Ladoameia daughter of Kleitos.

22) *IG* II² 4754 = *I. Eleusis* 434, fragments of a statue base, first lines with main text is lost, eponymous priestess Flavia Laodamia daughter of Kleitos, in the extant first five lines, followed by a *vacat* line, artist's name at the end.

23) *IG* II² 3559 = *I. Eleusis* 435, statue base for unknown person (probably a priest for life who held several offices) set up by the two *gene* Eumolpidai and Lykomidai, *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Flavia Laodameia daughter of Kleitos.

24) *IG* II² 3560 = *I. Eleusis* 436, statue base for unknown person, *vacat* below dedication, eponymous priestess Flavia Laodameia daughter of Kleitos.

25) *IG* II² 4753 = *I. Eleusis* 437, fragment, perhaps part of a statue base for unknown person, eponymous priestess Flavia Laodameia [daughter of Kleitos].

25a) *I. Eleusis* 445 fragment of a statue base with honours for an Athenian who held several offices, perhaps the last extant single letters are part of the father's name of the priestess Flavia Ladameia.

25b) *I. Eleusis* 549 either a statue base for a priestess of Demeter and Kore or the eponymous use of her name (in the middle? of a very fragmentary inscription)

25c) *I. Eleusis* 566 statue base for unknown person, perhaps with eponymous priestess.

Second/Third century AD:

25d) *I. Eleusis* 606 very fragmentary statue base, perhaps eponymous priestess (name is lost).

Imperial period?

25e) *IG* II² 4096 = *I. Eleusis* 666 fragmentary base with inscribed text set up by a daughter for her father, the first line starts with ἐπὶ ἱερεί[ας (name lost), father's name Epigonos.

The list for the eponymous use of the function and name of the priestess of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis is not as focused on a specific group of votives as for the priestess of Athena on the Acropolis.[125] Even so, most of the dedications with the eponymous use of the name of the priestess of Demeter and Kore of the late Hellenistic period and the first century AD are connected to young cult-officials, the hearth-initiates. From the second century AD, the picture is less clear, the hearth-initiates do no longer dominate the honorific monuments set up as votives that are 'dated' by the priestess.

---

125 In contrast to the Acropolis list with the inscriptions concerning the arrephoroi without a reference to the priestess of Athena, the list of hearth-initiates is quite long, with dedications (most often set up by their parents or other relatives) but without an 'eponymic' reference to the priestess of Demeter and Kore. Some of the inscriptions are quite fragmentary, in some of them a priestly date may have been inscribed at the end of the text now missing. Late second/early first century BC: *IG* II² 3478 = *I. Eleusis* 238 (115–100 BC); *I. Eleusis* 245; *IG* II² 3492 = *I. Eleusis* 251; 252; 253. First century BC: *SEG* 24.229 = *I. Eleusis* 269; *IG* II² 3480 = *I. Eleusis* 270; *IG* II² 3469 = *I. Eleusis* 273; *IG* II² 3727 = *I. Eleusis* 283; *IG* II² 3519 + fragm. = *I. Eleusis* 299; *IG* II² 3511 = *I. Eleusis* 302; *IG* II² 3499 = *I. Eleusis* 307. First century AD: *I. Eleusis* 318; 319; 323 (by Areopagos, boule and demos); *IG* II² 3518 = *I. Eleusis* 329 (by boule); *IG* II² 3551 = *I. Eleusis* 351 (by Areopagos, boule and demos); *I. Eleusis* 357; *IG* II² 3552 = *I. Eleusis* 365; *IG* II² 3581 + add. = *SEG* 29.173 = *I. Eleusis* 370; *IG* II² 4202 = *I. Eleusis* 385; *IG* II² 4203 = *I. Eleusis* 384; *I. Eleusis* 391; *IG* II² 3517 = *I. Eleusis* 393; *IG* II² 3569 = *I. Eleusis* 396; 414; 416; 429; 431; Second century AD: *IG* II² 3577 = *I. Eleusis* 441 (by Areopagos, boule of 500); *SEG* 26.223 = *I. Eleusis* 442; *IG* II² 3557 = *I. Eleusis* 458: *I. Eleusis* 459; IG II² 464 = *I. Eleusis* 464; *IG* II² 3611 = *I. Eleusis* 467; *IG* II² 3708 = *I. Eleusis* 474; 475 (?); *IG* II² 3608 = *I. Eleusis* 477; 480 (?); *IG* II² 3676 = *I. Eleusis* 481; *IG* II² 3677 = *I. Eleusis* 485; *IG* II² 4077 = *I. Eleusis* 511; *IG* II² 3693 = *I. Eleusis* 520, for the same girl *IG* II² 3713 + 4089 + add. = *I. Eleusis* 521; *IG* II² 3647 = *I. Eleusis* 522 (by Areopagos and demos); *IG* II² 3648 = *I. Eleusis* 524; *IG* II² 3657 = *I. Eleusis* 535; *I. Eleusis* 551; 568; Second/Third century AD: *I. Eleusis* 587 (according to *eperotema* of the Areopagos, set up by his mother); *I. Eleusis* 591; *IG* II² 3688 = *I. Eleusis* 621; Third century AD: *IG* II² 3686 = *I. Eleusis* 628 (? only mentioned as *mystes*, the ἀφ' ἑστίας is left out, characterised by Clinton 2005 ad no. 628 as hearth-initiate); *IG* II² 3637 = *I. Eleusis* 635; *IG* II² 3638 = *I. Eleusis* 636; *IG* II² 3710 = *I. Eleusis* 639; *IG* II² 3646 = *I. Eleusis* 640; *IG* II² 3706 = *I. Eleusis* 642 (? only mentioned as *mystes*, the ἀφ' ἑστίας is left out, characterised by Clinton 2005 ad no. 642 as hearth-initiate); *IG* II² 3679 = *I. Eleusis* 648. The hearth-initiate in *IG* II² 3619 = *I. Eleusis* 464 (2nd cent. AD) is only mentioned as a family-member. The man honoured in *IG* II² 3688 = *I. Eleusis* 621 had been hearth-initiate long ago and is now honoured with a list of all his offices and liturgies. *IG* II² 3707 = *I. Eleusis* 645 (mid-third century AD) honours a former hearth-initiate who had become *leg. Aug.* in Britannia, *hierokeryx* and archon in Athens. In the Eleusinian sanctuary, in the context of inscribed decrees of Athenian institutions other eponyms (archon and *prytanis*) are attested. Quite unusual is the late second century AD inscribed base on which the eponymous archon is mentioned to date the *aparché* out of which the votive (and the inscribed base) was dedicated by the *Panhellenes*.

There is obviously a connection between the young cult-officials, who lived for one year in the sanctuary, and the priestesses who were by their priestly function responsible for them. The focus on the young citizens of wealthy families who set up their first dedications before they had even come of age and received their first (portrait?) statues in stone while appearing in public as responsible members of the upper or upper-middle class, becomes very prominent in the sanctuaries on the Acropolis and in Eleusis and, at least until the late first to early second century AD, the priestess responsible for them was the person whom the honouring and dedicating parents or other relatives thought appropriate to name in the inscription.

10. Concluding Remarks

One of my starting points in this paper were claims such as that it is characteristic that the number of lifelong priesthoods increased in Roman Athens compared to those of classical and Hellenistic times. Because of the relatively small amount of evidence that would offer explicit and unambiguous proof for the duration of tenure of priests, as discussed above, the question of whether this phenomenon is actually characteristic seems unanswerable in the case of Athens. In addition, it is difficult to compare the different historical periods and the character of their priesthoods because the type of inscribed documents changes, for example with an increase in statue bases and a decline in public decrees inscribed on stelai. Moreover, the number of attestations of attendants and officials of a cult increased. The functions of the *errephoroi*, *kanephoroi* and hearth-initiates existed already in classical times. However, only by the late third century BC and even much later in Eleusis, these young cult-officials start to become present in the epigraphic and monumental record of the sanctuaries. In the sanctuary of Asklepios in the city in the Roman imperial period, the Painanistes, the annually elected Zakoros, the Hierophylax and others are all well attested, but had not appeared in the epigraphic record of the Hellenistic period. Compared to the eight known permanent priests of Asklepios in the imperial period, the thirteen Zakoroi of Asklepios with annual tenure are attested by statue bases, dedications and building inscriptions in the sanctuary.

Only a few priesthoods have a life-tenure explicitly attested with a starting point later than 166 BC, the time by which Roman influence on and domination in Greece becomes more and more present. The example of the life-tenure of the Athenian priest of Apollo at Delos or the

Asklepios priest in the city may be evidence that a general shift to permanent-tenure occurred, but it is evident that this had nothing to do with Roman concepts of priesthood and Roman elitist ideas that the members of the elite has a prerogative in communication with the gods.

As we have so little evidence, not every inscription that mentions a lifelong tenure of an individual priest of an otherwise unattested priesthood can be automatically taken as testimony that there was such a change of the duration of tenure; it may have been an exceptional individual honour and the result of a benefaction by the priest concerned.

It seems reasonable to say that the public presentation of priests and cult-officials in inscribed stone had become more overtly orienttated towards the Roman 'aristocratic' ideal of a small, select group of people, the ones who merit a crown and in consequence receive public honours. This is shown by the wealth and prominence of the honoured male priests in imperial Athens, who are most often not honoured as priests, but as benefactors. The offices and priesthoods they have held are mentioned primarily as part of their overall presentation as members of the elite and benefactors of their fellow citizens.

11. Bibliography

Aleshire, S. B. (1989). *The Athenian Asklepieion. The People, their Dedications, and the Inventories*. Amsterdam.

– (1991). A*sklepios at Athens. Epigraphic and prosopographic essays on the Athenian healing cults*. Amsterdam.

– (1994). 'The Demos and the Priests', in: *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, ed. by R. Osborne, S. Hornblower. Oxford, 325–227.

Aleshire, S. B., Lambert, St. (2011). 'The Attic *Gene* and the Athenian Religious Reform of 21 BC', in: *Priests and State in the Roman World*, ed. by J. H. Richardson, F. Santangelo. Stuttgart

Baker, P. (2000). 'Coûts des garnisons et fortifications dans les cités à l'époque hellénistique', in: *La guerre dans les économies antiques*, ed. by J. Andreau, P. Briant, R. Descat. Saint Bertrand-de-Comminges, 177–196.

Barker, E. (1952). *The Politics of Aristotle. Translated with an introduction, notes and appendixes*. Oxford.

Beard, M. (1990). 'Priesthood in the Roman Republic', in: *Pagan Priests. Relgion and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. by M. Beard, J. North. London, 17–48.

Beard, M., North, J., Price, S. (1998). *Religions in Rome. Vol. 1: A History*, Cambridge.
Blok. J. (2009). 'Pericles' Citizenship Law: a New Perspective', *Historia* 58: 141–170.
Blok, J., Lambert, St. (2009). 'The Appointment of Priests in Attic Gene'. *ZPE* 169: 95–121.
Bourriot, F. (1976). *Recherches sur la nature du génos*. Lille.
Bruneau, Ph. (1970). *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos a l'époque hellénistique et a l'époque impériale*. Paris.
Buraselis, K. (2008). 'Priesthoods for Sale. Comments on Ideological and Financial Aspects of the Sale of Priesthoods in the Greek Cities of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', in: *Religion and Society. Rituals, Resources and Identity in the Ancient Graeco-Roman World. The BOMOS-Conferences 2002–2005*, ed. by A. H. Rasmussen & S. W. Rasmussen. Rome, 125–131.

Carlsson, S. (2010). *Hellenistic Democracies. Freedom, Independence and Political Procedure in some East Greek City-states*. Stuttgart.
Chandezon, Chr. (2000). 'Guerre, agriculture et crises d'après les inscriptions hellénistique', in: *La guerre dans les économies antiques*, ed. by J. Andreau, P. Briant, R. Descat. Saint Bertrand-de-Comminges, 231–252.
Cleland, L. (2005). *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation*. Oxford.
Clinton, K. (2005). *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme. Vol. 1a Text*. Athens.
– (2008). *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme. Vol. 2 Commentary*. Athens.
Connelly, J. (2007). *Portrait of a Priestess. Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece.* Princeton, NJ.

Dignas, B. (2003). *The Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Oxford.
Davies, J. K. (1973). Review: 'The Athenian Aristocracy in the Fourth Century' (review of P. MacKendrick, (1969)), *CR* n.s. 23: 228–231.
– (2001). 'Hellenistic Economies in the Post-Finley Era', in: *Hellenistic Economics* ed. by Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen, G. J. Oliver. London/New York, 11–62.
Dreyer, B. (2001). 'Wann endet die klassische Demokratie Athens'. *AncSoc* 31, 27–66.

Edwards, G. R. (1957). 'Panathenaics of Hellenistic and Roman Times'. *Hesperia* 56: 320–349.

Feaver, D. D. (1957). 'Historical Development in the Priesthoods of Athens'. *YCSt* 15: 123–158.

Ferguson, W. S. (1949). 'Orgeonika', in: *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear. Hesperia Suppl. VIII*. Princeton, N.J., 130–163.

Fernoux, H.-L. (2004). *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine (IIIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Essai d'histoire sociale*. Paris.

Ferrary, J. L. (1987–89). 'Les Romains de la république et les démocraties grecques'. *Opus* 6–8 : 203–216.

Follet, S. (1976). *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle. Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*. Paris.

– (2004). 'Iulius Nicanor et le statut de Salamine', in: *L'Hellénisme d'époque romaine: nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (Ier s. a.C. – IIIe s. p.C.)*, ed. by S. Follet. Paris, 139–170.

Garland, R. (1992). *Introducing New Gods. The Politics of Athenian Religion*. London.

Gauthier, Ph. (1984). 'Les cités hellénistiques: épigraphie et histoire des institutions et des régimes politiques', in: *Proceedings of the VIII International Congres of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, ed. by Ch. Pelekides, D. Peppas-Delmousou, B. Petrakos. Athens, 82–107.

Geagan, D. J. (1967). *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla. (Hesperia Suppl.* 12). Princeton, NJ.

– (1997). 'The Athenian Elite: Romanization, Resistance, and the Exercise of Power', in: *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, ed. by M. C. Hoff, S. I. Rotroff. Oxford, 19–32.

Gordon, R. (1990). 'From Republic to Principate: priesthood, religion and ideology', in: *Pagan Priests. Relgion and Power in the Ancint World*, ed. by M. Beard, J. North. London, 179–198.

Grieb, V. (2008). *Hellenistische Demokratie. Politische Organisation und Struktur in freien griechischen Poleis nach Alexander dem Großen*. Stuttgart.

Habicht, Chr. (1982). *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit.* (Hypomnemata 73). Göttingen.

– (1995). 'Ist ein „Honoratiorenregime" das Kennzeichen der Stadt im späteren Hellenismus?', in: *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, ed. by P. Zanker, M. Wörrle. München, 87–92.
Hamilton, R. (2000). *Treasure Map. A Guide to the Delian Inventories*. Michigan MI.
Hamon, P. (2007). 'Élites dirigeantes et processus d'aristocratisation à l'époque hellénistique', in: *Aristocratie antique. Modèles et exemplarité sociale*, ed. by H.-L. Fernoux, Chr. Stein, Dijon. 79–100.
Hansen, M. H. (1986). '*ΚΛΗΡΟΣΙΣ ΕΚ ΠΡΟΚΡΙΤΟΝ* in Fourth-Century Athens', *CPh* 81: 222–229.
– (1990). 'When was selection by lot of magistrates introduced in Athens', *ClMed* 41: 55–61.
– (1991). *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes: Structure, Principles and Ideology*. Oxford.
Harris, D. (1994). 'Freedom of Information and Accountability: The Inventory Lists of the Parthenon', in: *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, ed. by R. Osborne, S. Hornblower, Oxford, 213–225.
– (1995). *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*. Oxford.
Horster, M. (2006), '(Weibliche) Priesterämter in griechischen Städten – Bemerkungen zum Wandel in der Überlieferung, in: *The Impact of Imperial Rome on Religions, Ritual and Religious Life in the Roman Empire*, ed. by L. de Blois, P. Funke, J. Hahn, Leiden, 194–207.

Johnson, A. C., Coleman-Norton, P. R., Bourne, F. C. (1961), *Ancient Roman Statutes. A Translation with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index*. Austin, TX.

Kantiréa, M. (2007). *Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques*. Athens.
Karila-Cohen, K. (2005). 'Les Pythaïstes athéniens et leurs familles: L'apport de la prosopographie à la connaissance de la religion à Athènes au IIe siècle avant notre ère, in: *Prosopographie et histoire religieuse.* ed. by M.-F. Baslez, F. Prévot. Paris, 69–83, 405–409 (Annex II)
Kearns, E. (1985). 'Continuity and Change in Religious Structures after Cleisthenes', in: *Crux: Essays Presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday*, ed. by P. Cartledge, F. D. Harvey, Exeter 189–207.
– (1989). *The Heroes of Attica*. London.
Kron, U. (1976). *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen. Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen*. Berlin.

Lambert, S. (2010). 'A Polis and its Priests: Athenian Priesthoods before and after Pericles' Citizenship Law', *Historia* 59: 143–175.
Linders, T. (1972). *Studies in the Treasure records of Artemis Brauronia.* Stockholm.
Lozano, F. (2002). *La Religión del Poder. El culto imperial en Atenas en época Augusto y los emperagores Julio-Claudios. (BAR Int. Ser.* 1087) Oxford.

MacKendrick, P. (1969). *The Athenian Aristocracy, 399 to 31 B.C.* Cambridge, Mass.
Martha, J. (1882). *Les sacerdoces Athéniens*. Paris.
Migeotte, L. (2000). 'Les dépenses militaries des cités grecques: essai de typologie', in: *La guerre dans les économies antiques,* ed. by J. Andreau, P. Briant, R. Descat, Saint Bertrand-de-Comminges, 143–176.
Mikalson, J. D. (1998). *Religion in Hellenistic Athens.* Berkeley/Los Angeles.
– (2004). 'Greece', in: *Religions of the Ancient World. A Guide,* ed. by S. I. Johnston, Cambridge Mass./London, 210–219
Müller, J. M. (2010), '„...weihte es der Athena." Basen von Weihgeschenken für Athena auf der nachklassischen Akropolis', in: *Die Akropolis von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* ed. by R. Krumeich, Chr. Witschel, Wiesbaden, 157–217.

North, J. (2011). '*Lex Domitia* revisited', in: *Priests and State in the Roman World,* ed. by J. H. Richardson, F. Santangelo, Stuttgart, 39–61.

Oliver, G. J. (2006). 'Hellenistic economies: regional view from the Athenian polis', in: *Approches de l'économie hellénistique,* ed. by R. Descat, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, 215–256.
– (2007). *War, Food, and Politics in Early Hellenistic Athens*. Oxford.
Oliver, J. H. (1983) 'From Gennêtai to Curiales', in: *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens*. Baltimore, London, 1–33 (orig. published in: *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 30–56).
O'Sullivan, L. (2009). *The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317–307 BCE: A Philosopher in Politics*. Leiden.

Parker, R. (1996). *Athenian Religion. A History*. Oxford.
Perrin-Saminadayar, E. (2005). 'Traditions religieuses et stratégies familiales. Sur quelques familles sacerdotales athénienne de l'époque hellénistique', in: *Prosopographie et histoire religieuse,* ed. by M.-F. Baslez, F. Prévot, Paris, 51–67, 401–404 (Annex I)

Quaß, F. (1993) *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*. Stuttgart.

Reger, G. (1994). *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independant Delos, 314–167 B.C.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.

Rüpke, J. (2005). *Fasti sacerdotum. Die Mitglieder der Priesterschaften und das sakrale Funktionspersonal römischer, griechischer, orientalischer und jüdisch-christlicher Kulte in der Stadt Rom von 300 v. Chr. bis 499 n. Chr*. Stuttgart, 3 vols. (engl. transl.: Oxford 2008).

– (2011). 'Different Colleges – Never Mind?', in: *Priests and State in the Roman World*, ed. by J. H. Richardson, F. Santangelo, Stuttgart, 25–38.

Savalli-Lestrade, I. (2003). 'Remarques sur les élites dans les *poleis* hellénistiques', in: *Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, ed. by M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, L. Lamoine, Rome/Clermont-Ferrand, 51–64

Scheid, J. (1984). 'Le prêtre et le magistrat. Réflexions sur les sacerdoces et le droit public à la fin de la République', in: *Des ordres à Rome*, ed. by C. Nicolet, Paris, 243–280.

Schmalz, G. C. R. (2009). *Augustus and Julio-Claudian Athens. A new epigraphy and prosopography*. Leiden.

Sherk, R. K. (1990a). 'The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities I', *ZPE* 83: 249–288.

– (1990b). 'The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities. Mainland Greece and the Adjacent Islands', *ZPE* 84: 231–295.

– (1991). 'The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities III', *ZPE* 88: 1991, 225–260.

– (1992). 'The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV. The Register Part III: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor (continued)', *ZPE* 93: 223–272.

– (1993). 'The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities V', *ZPE* 96: 267–295.

Shipley, G., Hansen, M. H. (2006). 'The Polis and Federalism', in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. by G. R. Bugh. Cambridge, 52–72.

Spawforth, A. J. S. (1997). 'The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Problems and Ambiguities', in: *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, ed. by M. C. Hoff, S. I. Rotroff. Oxford, 183–201.

Touloumakos, J. (1967). *Der Einfluss Roms auf die Staatsform der griechischen Stadtstaaten des Festlandes und der Inseln im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr*. Göttingen.
Tracy, S. (1979). 'Athens in 100 B.C.', *HSClPhil* 83: 213–235.
– (1982). *IG II² 2336. Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythaïs*. Meisenheim.
Turner, J. A. (1983). *Hiereiai: Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods in Ancient Greece*, Santa Barbara.

Vellek, G. F. (1969). *The Priesthoods of Athens: 86 B.C. to 267 A.D.*, PhD Johns Hopkins, Baltimore.
Vial, C. (1984). *Délos indépendante (314–167 avant J.-C.). Étude d'une communauté civique et de ses institutions*. Paris.

Wörrle, M. (2000). 'Pergamon um 133 v. Chr.', *Chiron* 30: 451–485.

Heidnische Priester in Attika vom dritten bis zum fünften Jahrhundert nach Christus[1]

ERKKI SIRONEN

Abstract: Two factors limit our knowledge about priests in Late Antique Attica: the general decline of epigraphic culture from the mid-third century onwards and the diminishing interest of Late Antique authors regarding to Athens and Attica.

The study is based on a collection of 52 inscriptions datable to around AD 200–500, with the addition of some references in a few Late Antique authors. Altogether, less than 90 references to priests were found. The third century AD is the critical turning point – after the mid-third century the written sources become more and more sporadic.

Only half of the twelve Olympian gods and goddesses are represented with priests during this last phase of antiquity. No priests and priestesses of Ares, Artemis, Hephaestus, Hera, Hermes or Poseidon appear in the record. Instead, some 20 minor divinities are represented, especially oriental ones, up until the mid-third century. The fourth and fifth century AD show traces of continuous cultic activity carried on by some influential persons, mostly among the Athenian Neo-Platonists.

Dass wir nur sehr wenige Dokumente über Priester im spätantiken Attika besitzen, beruht meines Erachtens überwiegend auf zwei Faktoren:

1) einer Zäsur in der epigraphischen Kultur nach den 260er Jahren, die durch den Herulereinfall um 267/8 n. Chr. im Besonderen und durch die Abnahme epigraphischer Zeugnisse im Allgemeinen begründet ist, sowie

2) ein geringes Interesse an der spätantiken, zunehmend provinziellen Stadt Athen und ihrer Umgebung seitens der antiken Autoren.

---

1 Ich möchte Marietta Horster herzlichst für die sehr gründliche Bearbeitung meines Textes danken und auch dafür, dass sie meinen Beitrag aufgenommen hat, obwohl ich wegen einer Erkrankung nicht am Berliner Workshop teilnehmen konnte.

Um ein allgemeines Bild des Sachverhaltes zu entwerfen, habe ich ein vorläufiges *corpusculum* erstellt, dessen Bausteine in erster Linie auf der Grundlage der *Inscriptiones Graecae* II (2. Auflage, von 1913–1940 bzw. 2008) stehen. Mit diesen Inschriften habe ich zusätzlich die vorhandene Dokumentation aus der früheren Kaiserzeit verglichen. Auch hier ist das Ausgangsmaterial die in den *Inscriptiones Graecae* vereinten Inschriften unter Nutzung des Indexes zu *IG* III (veraltet, von Dittenberger 1882), der allerdings weder die neueren Lesungen noch die neu gefundenen und publizierten Inschriften erfasst hat.

Zur Bereicherung des spärlichen, epigraphischen Materials der Spätantike und um bestenfalls auch eine weitere Perspektive zu erlangen, habe ich für die nun folgende Zusammenstellung der attischen Priester auch vier spätantike Schriftsteller und ihre Schriften hinzugezogen: *Die Leben der Sophisten* von Eunapios, *Das Leben des Proklos* von Marinos, die fragmentarische *Philosophische Geschichte* von Damaskios, und die *Neue Geschichte* von Zosimos. Die Auswahl der Inschriften wie der literarischen Autoren und das hierdurch entstandene *corpus* der spätantiken Zeugnisse zu heidnischen Priestern Attikas, sowie die Auswahl der Texte zu den kaiserzeitlichen, attischen Priestern hätte sicher auch vom Durchlesen des *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, des zukünftigen *IG*-Faszikels attischer Weihungen (seitens Jaime Curberas) bereichert werden können sowie vom Durcharbeiten der Werke des Julianos, Himerios, Themistios usw. Schließlich würde möglicherweise ein sehr genaues Durchlesen der *Prosopography of Late Roman Empire* mehr oder weniger verborgene Zusätze beitragen, die dem Autor entgangen sein mögen, da er sich stattdessen mit der allgemeinen Charakteristik im *PLRE* wie z. B. „pagan priest" in den Überschriften zufrieden gegeben hat. Das eben genannte Schriftstellermaterial wird am Schluss dieses Artikels besprochen werden.

Über die im engeren Sinn athenischen Dokumente hinaus gibt es aus Attika noch die spätantiken Priester aus Eleusis.[2] Deswegen habe ich die Mehrheit der eleusinischen Dokumente mit aufgenommen, obwohl mir die *aph' hestias* -Initiaten und *epi bomo* -Priester irrelevant für das angegebene Thema schienen. Darüber hinaus gibt es vereinzelte Inschriften aus Hymettos, Kalyvia, Parnes, Patissia und Peiraieus.

2 Für die weiter bestehende Einheit von Eleusis und Athen vgl. die überzeugenden Anfangsworte in Kevin Clintons *ANRW*-Artikel (1989) zu Eleusis und erneut in seinem Eleusis-*corpus* (2005).

Wie schon gesagt, besteht die Grundlage des Materials aus 52 Inschriften, von denen einige sich auf gleich auf mehrere Priesterschaften beziehen[3]:

IG II² 1076, 1077, 1078, 1355, 1817, 1818, 1950, 2197, 2199, 2208, 2224, 2227, 2239, 2242, 2361, 2773, 3198, 3416, 3641, 3661, 3662, 3670, 3671, 3684, 3685, 3694, 3697, 3698, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3709, 3715, 3809, 3811, 4006, 4075+4083, 4532, 4817, 4818, 4823, 4824, 7175, 13251, 13262, 13278, 13286, 13287, and 13620; *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 71; *IEleusis* 594 und 663.

Ausgehend von diesen Inschriften habe ich 81 Verweise zu Priestern gefunden. Die im Folgenden präsentierte, chronologische Verteilung der Inschriften und der dort genannten Priester und Priesterämter basiert im Wesentlichen auf den in *IG* vorgenommenen Datierungen, sofern sie nicht im *LGPN* geändert worden sind (dann meistens von Simone Follet). Die neuen Datierungen von Clinton (2005) in seinem Eleusis-*corpus* habe ich akzeptiert.

1. Chronologische Dokumentation

Die folgende Liste versucht ein übersichtliches Bild der verschiedenen Perioden zu geben, in denen die vorhandenen heidnischen Priesterschaften noch durch Inschriften im öffentlichen Raum sichtbar dokumentiert wurden.

Die erste Periode (3. Jh. n. Chr.)

In Inschriften genannte Priester in Attika (die zweite Zahl bezieht sich auf Eleusis)

Ende 2./ Anfang 3. Jh:[4]	13 + 1 = 14
um 200 n. Chr.:[5]	16 + 0 = 16
210er Jahre:[6]	2 + 3 = 5
frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr.:[7]	3 + 1 = 4
220er/230er Jahre:[8]	2 + 1 = 3

3 Unterstreichung der Inschriften, die außerhalb der Stadt Athen (asty) gefunden wurden oder sich auf Priesterämter außerhalb Athens beziehen.

4 *IG* II² 1355; 2361 (Peiraieus); 3685; 3694; 3809; 4817 (Kalyvia); 4818; 7175; *I Eleusis* 594.

5 *IG* II² 1076; 1077; 1818; 2197; 2199; 2208; 2224; 2361; 3416.

6 *IG* II² 2227; 3641 (Eleusis); 3811; 4075+4083 (beide Eleusis); 13620 (Zeile 29) (aus der Nähe von Hymettos).

7 *IG* II² 2361 (Zeilen 37–39) (Peiraieus); 3684; 4532; 4823 (Eleusis).

225–250 n. Chr.:[9]	3 + 1 = 4
240er Jahre:[10]	0 + 1 = 1
um 250er Jahre[11]	14 + 1 = 15
260er Jahre:[12]	4 + 0 = 4
270er Jahre:[13]	1 + 1 = 2
Ende des 3. Jh.:[14]	1 + 2 = 3
3. Jh. n. Chr. (grob):[15]	4 + 1 = 5
3. Jh. insgesamt:	63 + 13 = **76**

Die mittlere Periode (4. Jh. n. Chr.)

In Inschriften genannte Priester innerhalb und außerhalb Athens

frühes 4. Jh. n. Chr.:[16]	2	
4. Jh. n. Chr. (grob):[17]	1	
4. Jh. insgesamt:	3	= **3**

8 *IG* II² 1078 und 3661 (Eleusis).

9 *IG* II² 2239; 2242; 3706 (Eleusis).

10 *IG* II² 3662 (Eleusis).

11 *IG* II² 1950 mit etwa 10 Priesterschaften; 3705; 4006; 4824 (Eleusis); 13620 (aus der Nähe von Hymettos) (Zeilen 30–31).

12 *IG* II² 3198 und 3670; *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 71.

13 *IG* II² 3671 (Eleusis) und 13262.

14 *IG* II² 3709 (Eleusis), 3715 (Eleusis), 13620 (aus der Nähe von Hymettos) (Zeilen 32–33).

15 *IG* II² 2773, 3697, 3698, 3704; *IEleusis* 663.

16 *IG* II² 13251 (Parnes) und 13620 [Z. 36] (aus der Nähe von Hymettos): Sohn eines *dadukhos*, Sohn eines *hierophantes*.

17 *IG* II² 13278: *hierophantes*.

Die letzte Periode (5. Jh. n. Chr.) der Priester in Athen (zitierte Inschriften):

430er Jahre:[18]	1	
5. Jh. n. Chr. (grob):[19]	1	
5. Jh. insgesamt:	2	= **2**

An der Zahlenpräsentation wird deutlich sichtbar, dass der Wendepunkt im 3. Jahrhundert liegt. Ab der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts wird dann in den späteren Perioden die allmähliche, epigraphische Dokumentation immer spärlicher, in Eleusis bricht sie ganz weg, in Athen nimmt sie radikal ab.

2. Dokumentation nach Priesterschaften: Für welche Götter und Göttinnen?

Während der Kaiserzeit[20] (gemäß dem Index von *IG* III) sind die Priesterschaften inschriftlich lediglich für neun der zwölf olympischen Göttern und Göttinnen belegt (alphabetisch: Aphrodite, Apollon, Ares, Athena, Demeter, Dionysos, Hephaistos, Poseidon und Zeus) — nur Artemis, Hera und Hermes fehlen hier.

Weiterhin werden Priester für etwa 35 Götter oder Göttinnen nicht-olympischen Ranges angefangen von Gottheiten, Heroen, vergöttlichten Römern usw. in kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften von augusteischer bis in die severische Zeit hinein erwähnt.

Wenn wir nun diese Daten mit dem späten (d. h. nach 200 n. Chr.) Material vergleichen, hat sich die Vielfalt ab dem 3. Jahrhundert deutlich verengt: von den zwölf olympischen Göttern bzw. Göttinnen haben wir nur noch sechs (die Belege sind alphabetisch und chronologisch geordnet):

Aphrodite

- in Peiraieus, *IG* II² 2361 [Z. 73–75] aus dem späten 2./frühen 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
- (Aphrodite) Ourania, *IG* II² 1950 [Z.12] um die 250er Jahre

18 *IG* II² 13286, 10: Zusammenhang mit Telesphoros (vielleicht identisch mit oder in Funktionen ähnlich Asklepios).

19 *IG* II² 13287, 4: Diener (?) der Rhea.

20 Wie oben bereits gesagt ist die Basis der Index des *IG*-III-Bandes (1882).

Apollon
- Sohn eines *pythokhrestos exegetes*, *IG* II² 3694, spätes 2./frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr., derselbe auch in *IG* II² 1818, 6–7, um 200 n. Chr.
- Apollon Pythios *IG* II² 13620, 29, aus den 210er Jahre (in der Nähe von Hymettos)
- *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 8], um die 250er Jahre
- Apollon Patroos *IG* II² 3697, 3. Jh. n. Chr.; auch *IG* II² 3698, 3. Jh. n. Chr.)

Athena
- Athena Polias in *IG* II² 1355 [Z. 10 und 25], 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr.; auch *IG* II² 1076, 32, um 200 n. Chr.; *IG* II² 1078, 17, 220er bis 230er Jahre (aus der Nähe von Hymettos), *IG* II² 13620, 30–31 um die 250er Jahre; *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 71.

Demeter
- *IEleusis* 594, 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.; aus Eleusis *IG* II² 4824, um die 250er Jahre
- aus der Nähe von Hymettos *IG* II² 13620, 32–33 vom Ende des 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Dionysos
- *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 10], um die 250er Jahre

Zeus
- *IG* II² 3416, um 200 n. Chr.
- Olympischer Zeus in Eleusis *IG* II² 4075+4083, in den 210er Jahren
- Zeus Kasios in *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 6], um die 250er Jahre

Im 3. Jahrhundert fehlen also schon Ares, Artemis, Hephaistos, Hera, Hermes und Poseidon. Stattdessen werden Priester für etwa zwanzig andere Götter, Göttinnen, Gottheiten usw. in den folgenden späten Inschriften erwähnt:

Agathos Theos
- *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 5], um die 250er Jahre

Asklepios
- *IG* II² 3685, 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
- Priester des Paieon, *IG* II² 3809, 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
- *IG* II² 3704, 3. Jh. n. Chr., Sohn eines „*dia biou*" Priesters;
- *IG* II² 13286 [Z. 10], möglicherweise Telesphoros, der mit Asklepios verbunden wird, aus den 430er Jahre

Augustus
- *arkhiereus* Sebaston *IG* II² 2773, 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Gott in Kanopos
- *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 12], um 250er Jahre

Demeter
- *dadukhos IG* II² 3684, frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
- in Eleusis *IG* II² 3662, 240er Jahre, Frau eines *dadukhos* und *hierophantes*;
- in Eleusis *IG* II² 3715, Ende des 3. Jh. n. Chr.
- aus Parnes *IG* II² 13251, 7 aus dem frühen 4. Jh. n. Chr., Sohn eines *dadukhos*
- *exegetes*, *IEleusis* 663, 3. Jh. n. Chr.
- *hierophantes* in Eleusis, *IG* II² 3641, die 210er Jahre; in Eleusis *IG* II² 3811, die 210er Jahre; *IG* II² 1078, 38 aus den 220er bis 230er Jahren; in Eleusis *IG* II² 3661, die 220er bis 230er Jahre; in Eleusis *IG* II² 3662, die 240er Jahre, Frau eines *dadukhos* und *hierophantes*
- Hierophant und *myston hegeter* in Eleusis *IG* II² 3706, 225–250 n. Chr.;
- *hierophantes* in der Nähe von Hymettos *IG* II² 13620, 36, aus dem frühen 4. Jh. n. Chr.;
- *hierophantes* [in Athen gefunden] *IG* II² 13278, 4. Jh. n. Chr.
- *hierophantis* in Eleusis *IG* II² 3709, vom Ende des 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Eukolos (Gott oder Heros)
- *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 13] um die 250er Jahre

***Homonoia* der Griechen**
- *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 71

Horos
- *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 4], um die 250er Jahre

Isis
- Isis von Taposiris in *IG* II² 1950 [Z. 13], um die 250er Jahre

Isis und Serapis
- *IG* II² 4818, 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Mutter der Götter
- *IG* II² 1817 [Z. 9–10], um 200 n. Chr. (mit Archonten-Datierung, gefunden in Patissia); *IG* II² 1950 [10–11], um die 250er Jahre

Oraia (?)
- in Peiraieus, *IG* II² 2361 [Z. 68–70], um 200 n. Chr., *hiereia dia biou*

panages
- *IG* II² 3198, 260er Jahre; *IG* II² 3670, 260er Jahre;
- in Eleusis *IG* II² 3671, 270er Jahre; *IG* II² 13262, 270er Jahre, sämtliche für Publios Herennios Dexippos (*PLRE* I P. Herennius Dexippus 2)

Phosphoroi
- *IG* II² 1077 [Z. 101–102] um 200 n. Chr.

Rhea
- *IG* II² 13287 [Z. 4], vielleicht Diener, 5. Jh. n. Chr.

Syrische Göttin
- in Peiraieus, *IG* II² 2361 [Z. 76–77], 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Triptolemos
- *IG* II² 3705, um die 250er Jahre.

Schließlich gibt es einige Priester, bei denen in der Inschrift kein expliziter Zusammenhang mit einer Gottheit durch die Priestertitulatur ausgedrückt wird. Es sind dies die folgenden Priesterämter:

***dia biou* Priester**:
IG II² 2361 [Z. 10–11] (Peiraieus), 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
IG II² 7175 (Grabinschrift), 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
IG II² 2208 [Z. 11], um 200 n. Chr. „*grammateuontos dia biou* …";
IG II² 1076 [Z. 29–30], um 200 n. Chr.;
IG II² 4532, frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
IG II² 2239 [Z. 7–8], 225–250 n. Chr. „*grammateuontos dia biou* …";
IG II² 2242 [Z. 9–10], 225–250 n. Chr. „*grammateuontos dia biou* …"

Näherin (*periraptria*) Priesterin in Peiraieus:
IG II² 2361 [Z. 12–14], 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Priester:
IG II² 4817 [Z. 6 Priester, Z. 7 Priesterin] (in der Nähe von Kalyvia), 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
IG II² 1076 [Z. 29–30], um 200 n. Chr.;
IG II² 1077 [Z. 3], um 200 n. Chr.;
IG II² 2197 [Z. 2–3 bzw. 3–4], um 200 n. Chr.;
IG II² 2199 [Z. 36–37], um 200 n. Chr.;
IG II² 2224 [Z. 3], um 200 n. Chr. (mit Archonten-Datierung);

IG II² 2227 [Z. 15–17], 210er Jahre;
in Peiraieus *IG* II² 2361 [Z. 37–39], frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr.;
in Eleusis *IG* II² 4823, frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr. (*hierateuon*);
IG II² 2239 [Z. 4–5], 225–250 n. Chr. (mit Archonten-Datierung);
IG II² 4006, um 250er Jahre.

Die Liste ist wahrscheinlich unausgewogen, aber sie zeigt, dass mehrere römische und orientalische Priesterschaften bis ins 3. Jahrhundert bewahrt und gepflegt wurden. Abgesehen von den nicht für eine spezifische Gottheit zu identifizierenden Priestern (für ein Jahr, eine unbestimmte Zeit oder auch *dia biou* – lebenslang) gibt es die folgenden Priesterämter, die in Attika seit dem 3. Jahrhundert noch am besten dokumentiert sind:

hierophantes (achtmal), Apollon-Priester (sechsmal), Athena (fünfmal), darauf folgen die Priester für Asklepios, die *dadukhoi* und *panages*-Priester (je viermal).

3. Schlussbemerkungen

Obwohl die Schriften von Eunapios, Marinos und Zosimos, sowie die Fragmente von Damaskios mit ihren paganen Tendenzen und Vorlieben keine klaren und eindeutigen Beispiele für Priesterschaften im spätantiken Attika liefern, so gibt es doch bei diesen Schriftstellern viele Hinweise für die Weiterexistenz von öffentlichen Kulten, die von einflussreichen Männern ausgeübt wurden. Es handelt sich bei ihnen häufig um Personen, die entweder Teil der römischen Zentralverwaltung sind oder aber aus dem inneren Kreis der Neuplatoniker stammen.

Hier seien nur einige wenige Beispiele genannt:

a) Eunapios nennt einen *hierophantes*, der während der Regierungszeit von Julian in Eleusis aktiv war.[21]
b) Zosimos bezeugt, dass für den nächtlichen Mysterienkult von Eleusis eine Ausnahmeregelung galt, und dass er von den Hellenen bis in die 380er Jahre fortgesetzt werden konnte.[22]
c) Der Präfekt Anatolios (*PLRE* I Anatolius 3) bringt in Athen ein öffentliches Opfer noch in der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts dar.[23]

21 Eun., *VS* 475–476 bzw. 493.
22 Zos. 4,3.
23 Eun., *VS* 491.

d) Die Wichtigkeit von Telesphoros, *Magna Mater*, Asklepios, Pan und Athena wird durch die Theurgie der Neuplatonisten belegt.[24]
e) Der Vollzug heiliger Riten bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts durch die reichen Nachfolger der Neuplatonisten, besonders Archiadas (*PLRE* II Archiadas 1) und Hegias (*PLRE* II Hegias).[25]

Für eine neue Sicht auf die Entwicklung der Priesterschaften im spätantiken Griechenland außerhalb der Inseln wird wahrscheinlich die an der Universität Paris IV-Sorbonne angefertigte Doktorarbeit von Laurence Foschia, die demnächst publiziert werden soll, sorgen.[26] Außerdem wird durch die von Jaime Curbera edierten attischen Inschriften bis zum Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts in einem weiteren IG-Band (mit entsprechendem Index) das Vergleichsmaterial auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt. Entsprechend wird dann auch die vergleichende Analyse mit dem im vorliegenden Beitrag präsentierten, spätantiken Material neue Untersuchungen herausfordern und eine Einbettung in eine historische Entwicklung der späten römischen Kaiserzeit ermöglichen.

4. Literatur

Clinton, K. (1989). 'The Eleusinian Mysteries. Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century BC to AD 267'. *ANRW* II 18,2: 1499–1539.
– (2005), *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two. Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme.* Athens

LGPN Lexicon of Greek Personal Names

PLRE Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire

24 Marin., *V. Procl.* 7; 12; 19; 29; 30; 33; zur Göttin Athene in diesem Kontext, siehe Zos. 4,18.

25 Damasc. *Hist. philos.* 105A; 145B.

26 *Le polythéisme grec dans l'Antiquité tardive : étude des cultes et sanctuaires de Grèce continentale (fin du IIIe–VIIe siècle).* 2 Bände, 492 S. + 56 Pl.

Athenian civic priests from classical times to late antiquity: some considerations

JAN N. BREMMER

Abstract: In this paper I will offer a series of reflections, on the basis of Lambert's paper, on the function and definition of priesthood, its gender aspects and on its changes over time (§ 1). I argue that we need a Wittgensteinian approach in our definition of what a priest is. I continue with some reflections on the place of Athenian and other Greek priests in later antiquity on the basis of Sironen's paper (§ 2). I support Sironen's findings that the priests of the Eleusinian Mysteries probably long remained the most prestigious civic Athenian priests by taking a closer look at Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. I conclude with some observations on the reasons for the eclipse of the Greek civic priests by the Christians (§ 3).

The position of priests in Athens and elsewhere has received a certain amount of attention recently, but it is still remarkable how few larger studies have appeared on the subject.[1] Moreover, in studies where we might have expected to find them, they are sometimes barely visible. A good example is Jon Mikalson's *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* of 1998, where we look in vain for the entries 'priest' or 'priesthood' in the index.[2] Even Robert Parker's 2005 *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, with an impeccable index as always, pays relatively little attention to priests and priestesses.[3] Priests, then, civic or otherwise, deserve more attention than they have received from scholars so far. Fortunately, with his corpus of honorific decrees, Stephen Lambert has given us a precious instrument with which to study the place of priests and priestesses in Athenian society, their functions and their social construction. Unfortunately, but as could have been expected from such a great specialist, he has performed his task in such an exemplary manner that there

1 This is the somewhat revised, expanded and updated version of my comments on the papers of Stephen Lambert and Erkki Sironen at the 2010 Berlin symposium. I have kept the oral style, but added notes.

2 Mikalson 1998.

3 Parker 2005: 93–99, index *s.v.*; see now also Parker 2011: 48–57.

seems little that can be added to his analysis. I will therefore use his paper as the starting point for some reflections on, successively, the function and definition of priesthood, its gender aspects and on changes over time (§ 1). I will continue by reflecting on the place of Athenian and other Greek priests in later antiquity on the basis of Sironen's paper (§ 2) and conclude with some observations on the reasons for the defeat of the civic priests by the Christians (§ 3).

1. What is a civic priest?

If clothes make the man, as the saying goes, what makes a priest? The question of definition is less simple than it might seem, and Albert Henrichs has even assembled 30 attempts at providing an answer during the period of 1825–2000.[4] It seems symbolic for this polyphony that Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, in an excellent survey of Greek priesthoods, subtitles her introduction with: 'ce que n'est pas la prêtrise grecque'.[5] In a more positive sense, Robert Parker has tried to differentiate the priest from the magistrate in the following manner:

> 'Priests and magistrates come at the same job from different angles: the magistrate represents the city, before the gods as in other spheres; the priest communicates with the divine, for the city as for other clients.'[6]

But is it really true that the magistrate represents the city but the priest communicates with the divine? If we take communication as a two-way system of sending and receiving answers, the question must immediately be raised of which messages priests send up to the gods? It cannot be the interpretation of sacrifice, as it was the *mantis* who had the task of looking at the entrails of the sacrificial victims. Moreover, the magistrates also sacrificed occasionally, as did individual citizens, certainly not as often as the priests, but, if sacrifice implies communication with the divine, then magistrates and normal citizens also communicated. In other words, communication with the divine cannot have been the distinguishing difference between magistrates and priests.

More recently, Parker has attempted a different answer:

> 'One can argue that magistrates had organizational responsibility for sacred events within which priests provided more specialized services of expert prayer and sacrifice'.[7]

---

4 Henrichs 2008: 8–14.

5 Pirenne-Delforge 2005: 3.

6 Parker 2005: 98; for a more detailed discussion, see now Parker 2011: 54–56.

7 Parker 2011: 55.

I would suggest that as a generalisation this is a misunderstanding due to a Christianising interpretation of the term 'priest'. As we can see from Lambert's decrees no. 3 (13) and 12 (9), the priests of Asklepios and Kalliste had been recruited by lot. In the case of Asklepios this was the procedure from 420 BC onwards, in the case of Kalliste from the later third century at least. They can be seen as representative of the polis priesthoods, as both the *genos* priests and the 'democratic' priests were appointed by lot;[8] moreover, in some cases the priesthoods seem to have rotated tribally.[9] The limited tenures of the 'democratic' priesthoods and the fact that they were selected from the citizen body as a whole imply that, in one year, these priests could hardly have become such specialists that their technical knowledge would have singled them out above others, who might also already have been priests. We only have to think of the demarchs who are regularly mentioned as having sacrificed without the assistance or presence of a priest to realise that, at least in Athens, there were very many people with sacrificial knowledge.[10] The exceptions to these rules are the *genos* priesthoods. *Genê* were fairly restricted descent groups, and one could clearly conceive of a level of religious expertise as residing in them. This is also implicit in the tendency for *genos* priests to have significant names in this respect, such as Zakoros the hierophant, and Penteteris, the priestess of Athena.[11]

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that sacrifice is the central ritual act mentioned in the honorific decrees listed by Lambert. Yet the decrees for Aglauros (8.28–29, ?15.4) also single out their attention to the good order of *pannychides*, and I would be inclined to see the supervision of and contribution to the *pannychis*, which is often mentioned in the case of the priest of Asklepios, as falling under the category of maintaining order too, since *pannychides* are well known from comedy as occasions for rape and seduction of women.[12] However, we also find 'managers of good order' in the theatre (3.16) and *eukosmia* is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions as a positive quality of magistrates.[13] In other words, we do not find a decisive difference between priests and

8 For the *genos* priests, see Blok and Lambert 2009.

9 Parker 1996: 126f.

10 Parker 2010: 197.

11 See Lambert, this volume, notes 9 and 19.

12 Lambert 9.22, ?18.9, 23.7, 24.13, 27.12. For the *pannychis*, see Men. *Dysc.* 857–8 with Sandbach, *Epitr.* 452, 474, *Sam.* 46, *Phasm.* 95; Antaya 1983; Bravo 1997, who overlooked the names Pannychis and Pannych(i)os as indications for the popularity of nocturnal festivals.

13 *IG* II² 223, 354, 900, 950, 1006, etc.

magistrates in these areas either. It often seems to have been more a matter of intensity or frequency than an absolute difference.

A final point about the activities and definition of what a priest is: it is striking how selectively the merits of the priests and priestesses are enumerated in these decrees. We hear about general qualities but nothing about the day-to-day running of the sanctuary. We know that priestesses were often represented with a key, which made them *kleidouchos*.[14] Yet nothing about their guarding the sanctuary is mentioned in the decrees. Moreover, we do not hear if they decided which rituals had to be performed, who scrutinised the animals or organised the aftermath of the sacrifice. How could there be continuity in the 'democratic' priesthoods recruited by lot, unless we also presuppose the presence of temple personnel or written instructions that assured continuity? In these decrees, therefore, we see a certain idealisation and selective presentation of the priestly tasks. Just as it has gradually become clearer that we must be careful in deducing ritual from visual representations,[15] so we must also be careful with inscriptions and ask not only what they say, but also what they do not say.

There is another point to be made here. Walter Burkert has stated, 'Greek religion might almost be called a religion without priests: there is no priestly caste as a closed group with fixed tradition, education, initiation, and hierarchy, and even in the permanently established cults there is no *disciplina*, but only usage, *nomos*'.[16] These observations are 'almost', to use his own word, correct. The stress on the absence of *disciplina* certainly is. Athenian priests were not like Etruscan or Roman priests with a distinct technical knowledge. Yet every adult male had attended enough sacrifices and probably sacrificed enough in the course of his life to know how it was done. Moreover, because there was no prescriptive handbook we may assume that sacrificial practice was fairly conservative. The fact that the Eleusinian hierophant Archias was convicted for sacrificing contrary to *ta patria* is illustrative of this tendency.[17] In the course of time, when long-term appointments replaced recruitment by lot, status became more important than technical knowledge.

But the really surprising statement by Burkert is that Greek religion is a religion almost without priests. Naturally we cannot deny that in a number of places there may have been few priests. For example, Priene with its few temples must have had relatively few of them. On the

14 Most recently, Lindner 2003: 55–56; Connelly 2007: 92–104; Von den Hoff 2008: 110f.

15 Klöckner 2006.

16 Burkert 1985: 95 = Burkert 2011: 151.

17 [Dem]. 59.116–17; see also my comment at Auffarth 2005: 20.

other hand, precisely in Athens there must have been a staggering number of priests. By extrapolating from the so-called 'sacred law' of Aixone on the basis of the bouleutic quotas of the 139 demes, Robert Parker has recently calculated the number of deme priesthoods in Athens as 545.[18] If we add the priests of the public cults and the *genê*, there must have been an impressive number of men and women in ancient Athens who had been priest or priestess in the course of their lives. And even if Parker's figure proved to be slightly exaggerated, we would still get a picture that is in stark contradiction to Burkert's 'religion without priests'.

Lambert also calls attention to the fact that our decrees do not differentiate between priests of post-democratic cults, like that of Asklepios, and those of *genê* cults. It is hard to believe that the explanation is the one proposed by Josine Blok, viz. that after Pericles' Law of 451/0 all Athenians had been raised to the level of the *genê*.[19] The simple fact that the priesthoods of the *genê* remained in the hands of the *gennêtai* cannot have escaped those below the level of that social elite. It may well have been experienced as undemocratic to see one's ancestry emphasized, but that does not mean that everybody shared that ancestry. The fact that, as Lambert observes, most privately dedicated statues and other images of Athenian cult personnel seem to have honoured *genos* priests and priestesses only underscores my point.

Let us conclude this part of my discussion with the observation that, as our discussion has shown once again, it is impossible to present a catch-all definition of a Greek (Athenian) priest/ess. Priests and priestesses were connected to sanctuaries, but they were also ritual experts, sacrificers, preservers of sacrificial knowledge, representatives of their divinities, mediators between mortals and immortals[20] – albeit not all of them all of the time. The Greeks did not inherit a priestly class from their Indo-European tradition, and this lack of a distinct model expressed itself in a vocabulary that varied from city to city,[21] even if *hiereus* was perhaps the most common Greek term. In the end we have to be satisfied with the fact that there is only a family resemblance, to use the Wittgensteinian term, between all of these functions.[22]

---

18 Parker 2010: 200. Note, however, that Lambert 2010: 151 note 52 thinks it far from clear that the sacred law of Aixone really is the product of a deme. If not, Parker's calculation may be skewed. But even so, the number of Athenian priests must have been impressive.

19 Blok 2009.

20 See also Motte 2005; Hitch 2011.

21 Kretschmer 1930: 81–89.

22 Ginzburg 2004.

Let us now turn to Lambert's second point, gender. He makes some excellent observations on the gender aspects of Athenian priesthoods in these inscriptions and perceptively notices that the decrees stress a certain aloofness on the part of priestesses towards the male world of political hurly burly. In other words, with few exceptions the world of priestesses stopped at the borders of their sanctuaries, whereas priests could move outside them. We may perhaps add one more aspect that is only partially illuminated by his decrees, viz. the fact that goddesses were not always served by priestesses but also by priests. Lambert adduces priests of Artemis and Artemis-related deities, such as the priests of Kalliste (no. 12 and 14), of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia (*IG* II² 5050; *SEG* 30.93.10) and of Artemis Kolainis (*IG* II² 4817, 5057, 5140),[23] but it is rather striking that many priests of Athena in the Greek world were also males,[24] as were, in Athens, the priests of the Muses (*IG* II² 5067), of Eukleia and Eunomia (*IG* II² 5059), and of Aphrodite (*IG* II² 4586), who was also served by a male priest in Cyprian Amathous.[25] Even the priest of Hekate, a favourite goddess of many modern pagans, in her main sanctuary of Lagina in modern Turkey was originally male, although from the middle of the first century AD he often came to be accompanied by his wife as priestess, and a century earlier the same development had occurred on Rhodes with the priest of Athena Lindia.[26]

Lambert's third section is equally valuable. The arrival of the Augustan period seems to have made a real difference in the *longue durée* of the Athenian priesthood. Whereas previously ancestry had made a real difference but allotment secured a chance for everybody to become priest, now the life-long tenure must have made this possible only for those who were rich enough to afford such a long tenure. In other words, we can observe a clear shift from ancestry to ancestry and wealth as the main criterion for the occupancy of *genos* priesthoods after the re-acquisition of Delos in 166 BC.[27] Lambert persuasively connects these changes with a desire to please Augustus and the Romans. And indeed, Augustus himself was well known for his restoration of old temples and rituals. The elite of Greek cities, who wanted to align themselves with the Romans, must have followed his example closely. At the same time that Themistocles was carrying out restorations in Athens, we find similar initiatives to restore old rituals in other places

23 For some other possibilities, see Lambert 2010: 169 note 158 and this volume, note 13.

24 Graf 1985: 214 note 46 (Kameiros, Thera, Phaselis, Soloi, Tegea etc.).

25 Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 353f.

26 Van Bremen 1996: 133–6.

27 Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 558–59.

during Augustus' reign. The Milesian Epinikos attempted to renew the tradition of sacrifices and cult activities for Zeus Soter (*I. Didyma* 199.6–7); an Athenian inscription at the turn of the era (*SEG* 26.121; 55.247) stipulated the restoration of some 80 sanctuaries together with their rituals, and a similar type of restoration is found in Labraunda in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos (*I. Labr.* 54B). Themistocles' initiatives, then, seem to have been part of a more general trend of following the example of Augustus. The trend itself may already have started earlier. Ralf von den Hoff has noted that from the second century BC onwards Athenian dedications start to show an interest in old rituals and family traditions. His observations in that direction are a welcome supplement to the epigraphic material collected by Lambert regarding the revival of the fortunes of the *genê* and demonstrate that for the right understanding of the development of the institutions of the civic priests we should try to combine literary, epigraphic and iconographical evidence.[28]

2. Athenian Priests in Late Antiquity

With Erkki Sironen's contribution we have approached the end of the ancient world and the end of the civic priests. Even if he has not caught all the examples, it is clear from his chapter that the evidence we have is rather fragmentary. There are two reasons, it seems to me. First, as he himself also mentions, an important cause must have been the end, by and large, of the so-called epigraphic habit, that is, the phenomenon that after the middle of the third century the epigraphic evidence all over the Roman Empire dramatically decreases, even though the pattern in Athens is somewhat different from elsewhere.[29] The chronological range of the inscriptions adduced is indeed striking, as virtually everything stops after 250 AD. The material that we have suggests that there was already a certain decline in the pagan priesthood, as fewer and fewer gods are attested in the epigraphic material, but if we compare the situation in Athens in Late Antiquity with that of the hundreds of priests in the Classical and earlier Hellenistic period (§ 1), the decline in priests must have been quite dramatic. This need not mean that the corresponding priests disappeared immediately, but the Athenian elite must surely have felt that they could spend their money better by sup-

28 Von den Hoff 2008: 138; Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 557–59 and 569–72 (by Lambert).

29 Meyer 1990: 93f.

porting the imperial cult than by keeping up support of gods that were no longer of great interest to the social and political life of the city.

On the other hand, it is probably not surprising that, as Sironen's material shows, the only cult that remains very visible in the epigraphical evidence is that of Eleusis. The attention paid to the Mysteries by the Christian authors suggests that Eleusis indeed long remained a kind of pagan religious focus, and one would love to know in what ways the priests of Eleusis adapted themselves to the changing world of Late Antiquity. But as in all other cases, our evidence is very scarce, even though there is perhaps slightly more than Sironen's survey suggests.

However, before looking at a specific work that has not yet been mined for its evidence about late antique priests, we may ask how people would have looked at the last remaining priests. I will take as my point of departure an interesting analysis by Manuel Baumbach of the last surviving pagan novel,[30] Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, which should be dated to the later fourth century, as Bowersock has conclusively shown, making it more or less contemporary with the last Christian ancient novels, the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* of the so-called *Pseudo-Clementines*.[31]

Baumbach rightly points to the fact that priests are important figures in the later Greek novel, in particular Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, even though there is a considerable distance in time between these two authors, as Achilles Tatius must have lived at the time of the revolt of the Boukoloi (3.9, 13; 4.7–18; 5.18.1), whose base, the capital of the Mendesian nome in the Delta, is mentioned in his discussion of their living quarters with studied nonchalance: 'one of the nearby islands is larger and has more huts (I believe its name is Nikochis)' (tr. Winkler: 4.12.8). This means that he must have lived around the time of the revolt or shortly afterwards, that is, in the 160s or 170s, as it is unlikely that later generations would have cared to remember the base.[32] Baumbach also points to Lucian's *On the Death of Peregrinus* and *Alexander of Abonouteichos* as well as to Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. Now his identification of these figures nicely shows up the problem of our usage of the term 'priest', as already discussed by Albert Henrichs in his introduction to *Practitioners of the Divine*. For, whatever we may think of them, we cannot wholeheartedly identify all these figures as civic priests, although Alexander later in his life comes rela-

30 Baumbach 2008.

31 Heliodorus: Bowersock 1994: 149–60. *Pseudo-Clementines*: Bremmer 2010a.

32 Bowersock 1994: 53; Alston 1995: 83–6; Henrichs 2011: 306–13. For further indications of Achilles' knowledge of the revolt see Henrichs 1972: 48–50.

tively close. On the other hand, these works do attest to the interest in religious figures, such as we also find in the later third-century fascination with Pythagoras attested in the works of Porphyry and Iamblichus. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that Heliodorus describes the Egyptian priest Calasiris with great sympathy and reverence:

> An old man walking aimlessly along the river bank, pacing to and fro, beside the river, like an athlete in a long-distance race running length after length of the track, apparently confiding his cares to the river. His hair was long, like a priest's, and pure white; his beard grew long and thick, lending him an air of dignity, while his cloak and the rest of his clothes were of Greekish appearance (2.21, tr. Baumbach).

Apparently, in Late Antiquity the priest had become a generally recognisable figure. The reason for this may well be the general development of what one could call 'pagan religion' in the course of Late Antiquity.[33] The rise of the ruler cult must have been a unifying factor in the originally so multifarious world of the Greek city in the original homeland and Asia Minor. We see here a certain 'globalisation' of the priestly figure in Late Antiquity.[34]

At the same time, Heliodorus' novel gives some indication of what may have been the self-representation of priests in late Antiquity. The beard, as Baumbach rightly suggests, hints at the philosopher. We may add that we can see the same development with the emperor Julian. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions that he had a beard, and Constantius' courtiers mocked him as *capella, non homo* (17.11.1). In the same context, though, Ammianus relates that he liked to usurp the official functions of the priests by sacrificing (22.14.3). This convergence of the position of priests and philosophers had already become visible in the first century AD and seems to have been a constant factor in the following centuries in the Eastern Mediterranean.[35] This does not imply, of course, that every priest was also a philosopher, but Heliodorus' picture does suggest that it certainly was prevalent as an ideal in Late Antiquity.

Now Sironen collected the epigraphic evidence for the Eleusinian priests, as did the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1946–2007), who also gathered the literary evidence.[36] Yet neither of them paid any attention to an interesting source for Late Antique priesthood, which also mentions the Eleusinian hierophant: Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. In this work, written in the 220s or 230s AD, we have a picture of a pagan 'holy man' who is also a Pythagorean philosopher. Philo-

33 MacMullen 1997; Leppin 2004; Ando 2008.

34 For the priest in Late Antiquity, see also the observations of Nock 1972: 2.782–90.

35 Haake 2008; Graf 2010.

36 Sourvinou-Inwood 2005.

stratus mentions several priests in his work,[37] and it might prove worthwhile to pay them some attention.

The first priests mentioned are the Egyptian ones whom Plato supposedly visited and from whose wisdom he greatly profited, although he was never, so Philostratus, thought to be a magician (1.2.1). We can see here that the wisdom of the Egyptian priest as visible in Heliodorus was already noted much earlier. In fact, when at the beginning of the *Pseudo-Clementines* Clement is profoundly disturbed by the problem of the soul's immortality, he decides to travel to Egypt, and to become friendly with the hierophants of the shrines, and with the prophets;

> "and I shall look for and find a magician, and persuade him with large bribes to call up a soul, the so-called necromancy, pretending to inquire about some business". (*Homilies*, *Recognitions* 1.5)

The fact that this passage occurs in both the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* means that it already occurred in the *Grundschrift* of these two writings, which was more or less contemporaneous with Philostratus.[38] Somewhat earlier, Thessalos (1.13–4) had travelled to Thebes to question the high priests, and Egypt was notorious as a country with a long priestly tradition of magic.[39] In other words, the assurance that Plato was never thought to have been a magician has to be read against contemporary ideas about Egyptian priests and magicians.

When he was fifteen Apollonius studied in the temple of Asklepios in Aigai, where Asklepios told the priests (plural!) that he was happy to cure the sick with Apollonius as a witness (1.8.2). Somewhat later Apollonius is able to tell the priest (singular!) that a Cilician who had given rich sacrifices and dedications to the sanctuary was in reality an incestuous person who should be thrown out of the sanctuary (1.10). Moreover, he also questions the priest about the gods (1.11), continues lecturing to priests on the gods in Apollo's temple at Daphne (1.16.3) and in Old Ninos he shows himself better informed about the statue of Io than the local priests (1.19). One is reminded of Jesus teaching in the temple at a young age, one of several times that Philostratus makes use of motifs from the Gospels, directly or indirectly.[40]

Naturally, he also lectures the Indian king on the fact that the priests of many Greek oracles prefer water to wine (2.37.2–3), a Pytha-

---

37 For the deconstruction of the category of the 'holy man' in connection with Apollonius, see Du Toit 1997: 149–66; Koskenniemi 1998.

38 Bremmer 2010b: 8.

39 Graf 1997: 94–95; Frankfurter 1997: 119–21: Bohak 2000: 220–01; Dickie 2001: 203–5, 215–7, 229–31.

40 For the insoluble but much discussed problem of how to explain the similarities with the Gospels, see most recently Van Uytfanghe 2009: 335–46.

gorean tenet also espoused by Apollonius, and on the way home from his Indian journey he manages to teach the priests of Aphrodite's temple at Paphos about their rites (3.58) and the spectators at Olympia about the manner in which Hera's priest in Croton prays (4.28.2). At the end of Europe, in Gadeira, Apollonius can explain mysterious letters on the pillars in Heracles' sanctuary to the priests (5.5.2). The priests of Trophonios have to be rebuked by the god for treating Apollonius badly (8.19.2).[41] An Egyptian priest (see above) proves to be ignorant of holy matters when interrogated by him (5.25.2), and Apollonius even makes fun of the Egyptian priests by letting them believe that a lion is the reincarnation of Amasis (5.42.1). His knowledge is indeed so impressive that the Roman consul Telesinus (AD 66) tells him that he would write to the priests of any shrine Apollonius wanted to visit to welcome him and to accede to his corrections (4.40.3).

There are only a few exceptions to this showing up of priests. The priests of Memnon apparently instructed Apollonius and his party correctly how to sacrifice, as Apollonius makes no comments about them (6.4.3).[42] And when he entered a sanctuary of, apparently, Zeus and asked for a thousand drachmas from the god's fund, the priest immediately gave it to him (8.17).

It is against this background of Apollonius' superiority compared to the average priest, even the Egyptian ones, that we have to place his initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries.[43] Apollonius arrived on the day of the Epidauria, the festival intercalated into the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries.[44] Thus the proclamation of the Mysteries on Boedromion 15 had already taken place, which traditionally excluded those who could not speak proper Greek or had blood on their hands.[45] But when Apollonius wanted to be initiated, the hierophant riposted by saying that 'he would never initiate a charlatan, or open up Eleusis to a man who was impure in matters divine'. The answer was in line with the growing interiorisation of purity in late antiquity,[46] when even the Eleusinian proclamation became extended to those 'impure in soul'.[47]

---

41 Bonnechere 2003: 70, 232.

42 For the sanctuary, see Bowersock 1994b: 253–64.

43 For the Mysteries, see most recently Parker 2005: 334–68; Bremmer 2011.

44 Clinton 1994; Parker 2005: 462.

45 Ar. *Ra.* 369 with schol. *ad loc.*; Isoc. 4.157; Suet. *Nero* 34.4; Theo Sm. *De utilitate mathematicae* p. 14.23–4 Hiller; Celsus *apud* Orig. *Cels.* 3.59; Pollux 8.90; Lib. *Decl.* 13.19, 52; SHA *Alex. Sev.* 18.2, *Marc. Aur.* 27.1.

46 Bremmer 2002.

47 Or. CC 3.59; Eus. *C. Hier.* 30.3; Lib. *Decl.* 13.19, 52; Jul. *Or.* 7.25; Dickie 2004.

Naturally, and wholly in the spirit in which we have got to know him, Apollonius answered that he knew more about the rites than the hierophant! Seeing that the rejection of our sage did not please the public, the hierophant changed his tone and said to Apollonius: 'be initiated!' But Apollonius refused and told him that another hierophant would perform the rite (4.18). Subsequently, he lectured on religion, showing up the hierophant for his blasphemous and ignorant words (4.19). Eventually, he was initiated in Eleusis by the successor of the hierophant who had refused him, as he had foretold (5.19.1).

The anecdote, true or not, demonstrates the great prestige of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the first decades of the third century, as Philostratus clearly cannot let his sage not be initiated. It also shows that, as also appears from the inscriptions collected by Sironen, the hierophant played the main role; he had a special seat in the sanctuary in Late Antiquity.[48] From Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* (3.12) we know that the Eleusinian priesthood had even reinvented itself in line with the allegorizing spirit of the time by having the hierophant dressed up as the demiurge, the dadouch as the sun, the priest at the altar as the moon, and hierokeryx as Hermes. Other cults went into decline, but the Eleusinian Mysteries were clearly still alive and kicking around 300 AD. Out of all the civic priests, its priesthood may well have lasted longest in the struggle for survival after the victory of Christianity.

3. Concluding considerations

Having arrived at the end of antiquity, it may be useful to ask why the pagan civic priests were defeated by the Christian clergy. I see the following aspects playing a role here. First, whereas the organisation of the Christian Church has guaranteed that, before and after the Reformation, the Catholic priesthood and the Protestant ministry have remained identifiable and fairly strictly defined offices, Greek priesthood was clearly characterised by a flexibility that could continuously adapt to new circumstances. The diversity of the cults and the diversity of the various cultural contexts in which the priesthoods functioned made a homogeneous pagan priesthood fairly impossible.

Secondly, this flexibility made the Greek priesthood much more liable to political manipulation than the Christian one. Whereas the Orthodox Church in Greece preserved Greek identity in the times of the

48 *I. Eleusis* 500 with Clinton *ad loc.*; Eunapius 475; for his prestige, see also Geominy 1989 (to be added to Sironen, this volume, and Sourvinou-Inwood 2005).

Ottoman Empire and the Polish priests maintained nationalism in the face of communism, the most important religious functionaries of Greek cities had no trouble in co-operating with the occupying powers, be they Persian, Macedonian or Roman. In this respect, the Greek priesthood was perhaps more different than we might think from the clergy familiar to us.

Thirdly, unlike with pagan priests, for the Christian ones it was not birth or status that mattered, nor even that other much-valued pagan quality, eloquence. Spiritual criteria now replaced the traditional qualities of good ancestry and wealth. That does not mean of course that wealthy people did not have some advantage – one only needs to think of the rich Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage – but money clearly was less important among the Christian clergy than among its pagan counterpart. Talent could bring you further among the Christians than among the pagans.

Fourthly, pagan priests were not connected in trans-local networks like the Christian ones. There were no pagan synods or church councils. This meant that in times of distress and attack on their position the pagan priests did not have the support of a network of the kind the Christians had created, nor, of course, did they have a congregation that supported them.

Fifthly, the existence of adolescent priests and the temporary character of many Greek priesthoods shows that for the Greeks a priesthood was not necessarily something for life, as is the case in the Christian, Jewish and Muslim tradition. Nor did the function require years of training, as was obligatory for the newly converted Christians. These factors meant that the pagan priesthood was no competition for the Christian bishops when the confrontation between Christianity and paganism became of vital importance for the survival of paganism. Greek civic priesthood was perhaps a more problematic institution than we like to think.

Finally, Lambert and Sironen, each in their own ways, have presented us with a corpus of inscriptions about priesthoods from one particular city. This corpus shows that the developments regarding the priesthood have to be seen in correlation with the historical developments of the times. In other words, we should be careful with cross-Greek discussions of priesthoods, such as we find, for example, in *Practitioners of the Divine*. Priesthoods should be studied first within their local context before we start to generalise. It is the great merit of the papers by St. Lambert and E. Sironen to have given excellent examples of this methodological necessity.[49]

---

49 I thank Stephen Lambert for his valuable commentary and Orla Mulholland for her skilful correction of my English.

4. Bibliography

Aleshire, S. B., S. D. Lambert. (2009). 'Attic Gene and the Athenian religious reform of 21 BC'. In: *Priests and State in the Roman World*, ed. by J. H. Richardson, F. Santangelo, Stuttgart, 553–575.
Alston, R. (1995). *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*. London.
Ando, C. (2008). *The Matter of the Gods*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.
Antaya, R. (1983). *The All-Night Festivals of the Greeks*. Diss. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore.
Auffarth, C. (2005). 'How to Sacrifice Correctly – Without a Manual?'. In: *Greek Sacrifical Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian*, R. Hägg, B. Alroth, Stockholm, 11–21.

Baumbach, M. (2008). 'An Egyptian Priest at Delphi. Calasiris as *theios anēr* in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine*, ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 167–183.
Blok, J. (2009). 'Pericles' citizenship law: a new perspective', *Historia* 58: 141–170.
Blok, J., S. Lambert. (2009). 'The Appointment of Priests in Attic Gene', *ZPE* 169: 95–121.
Bohak, G. (2000). 'Rabbinic Perspectives on Egyptian Religion', *Archiv für Religionsgesch*ichte 2: 215–231.
Bonnechere, P. (2003). *Trophonios de Lébadée*. Leiden.
Bowersock, G. (1994a). *Fiction as History*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.
– (1994b). Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire. Goldbach.
Bravo, B. (1997). *Pannychis e simposio: feste private notturne di donne e uomini nei testi letterari e nel culto*. Pisa.
Bremen, R. van. (1996). *The Limits of Participation*. Amsterdam.
Bremmer, J. N. (2002). 'How Old is the Ideal of Holiness (of Mind) in the Epidaurian Temple Inscription and the Hippocratic Oath?', *ZPE* 142: 105–107.
– (ed.). (2010a). *The Pseudo-Clementines*. Leuven.
– (2010b). 'Pseudo-Clementines: Texts, Dates, Places, Authors and Magic'. In: *The Pseudo-Clementines*, ed. by J. N. Bremmer, Leuven, 1–23.
– (2011). 'Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries: a 'thin' description'. In: *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices. Festschrift for Einar Thomassen*, ed. by C. H. Bull *et al.*, Leiden, 375–397.
Burkert, W. (1985). *Greek Religion*. Oxford.
– (2011). *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*. 2nd ed., Stuttgart.

Clinton, K. (1994). 'The Epidauria and the Arrival of Asclepius in Athens'. In: *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, ed. by R. Hägg, Stockholm, 17–34.
Connelly, J. (2007). *Portrait of a Priestess. Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*. Princeton/Oxford.

Demoen, K., Praet, D. (eds.). (2009). *Theios Sophistès: Essays on Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii*. Leiden.
Dickie, M. W. (2001). *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. London/New York.
– (2004). 'Priestly Proclamations and Sacred Laws', *CQ* 54: 579–591.
Dignas, B., Trampedach, K. (eds.) (2008). *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek priests and religious officials from Homer to Heliodorus*. Washington DC.

Geominy, W. (1989). 'Eleusinische Priester'. In: *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann*, ed. by H.–U. Cain *et al.*, Mainz, 253–264.
Ginzburg, C. (2004). 'Family Resemblances and Family Trees: Two Cognitive Metaphors', *Critical Inquiry* 30: 537–556.
Graf, F. (1985). *Nordionische Kulte*. Rome.
– (1997). 'How to Cope with a Difficult Life. A View of Ancient Magic'. In: *Envisioning Magic*, ed. by H. Kippenberg, P. Schäfer, Leiden, 93–114.
– 'Priester und Lehre im Spannungsfeld von Antike und Christentum'. In: *Religion und Bildung: Medien und Funktionen religiösen Wissens in der Kaiserzeit*, ed. by C. Frateantonio, Stuttgart, 13-28.

Frankfurter, D. (1997). 'Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category "Magician"'. In: *Envisioning Magic*, ed. by H. Kippenberg, P. Schäfer, Leiden, 115–135.

Haake, M. (2008). 'Philosopher and Priest. The Image of the Intellectual and the Social Practice of the Elites in the Eastern Roman Empire (First-Third Centuries AD)'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek priests and religious officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 145–165.
Henrichs, A. (1972). *Die Phoinikika des Lollianus*. Bonn.
– (2008). 'What is a Greek priest?'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek priests and religious officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, ed. by B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 1–14.

– (2011). 'Missing Pages: Papyrology, Genre, and the Greek Novel'. In: *Culture in Pieces. Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons*, ed. by D. Obbink and R. Rutherford, Oxford, 302-322.
Hitch, S. (2011). 'Embedded Speech in the Attic *leges sacrae*'. In: *Sacred Words: Orality, Literacy and Religion*, ed. by A. Lardinois *et al.*, Leiden, 113-141.
Hoff, R. von den (2008). 'Images and Prestige of Cult Personnel in Athens between the Sixth and First centuries BC'. In: *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek priests and religious officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, ed. By B. Dignas, K. Trampedach, Washington DC, 107–141.

Klöckner, A. (2006). 'Votive als Gegenstände des Rituals – Votive als Bilder von Ritualen: Das Beispiel der griechischen Weihreliefs'. In: *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, ed. by J. Mylonopoulos, H. Roeder, Vienna, 139–152.
Koskenniemi, E. (1998). 'Apollonius of Tyana: a typical theios aner?', *J. Bibl. Litt.* 117: 455–467.
Kretschmer, E. (1930). 'Beiträge zur Wortgeographie der altgriechischen Dialekte', *Glotta* 18: 67–100.

Lambert, S. D. (2010). 'A Polis and Its Priests: Athenian Priesthoods before and after Pericles' Citizenship Law', *Historia* 59: 143–175.
Leppin, H. (2004). 'Zum Wandel des spätantiken Heidentums', *Millennium* 1: 59–81.
Lindner, R. (2003). 'Priesterinnen. Bildzeugnisse zum griechischen Götterkult'. In: *Geschlechterdifferenz, Ritual und Religion*, ed. by E. Klinger *et al.*, Würzburg, 53–66.

MacMullen, R. (1997). *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*. New Haven/London.
Meyer, E. A. (1990). 'Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: the Evidence of Epitaphs', *JRS* 80: 74–96.
Mikalson, J. (1998). *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.
Motte, A. (2005). 'Figures de prêtre dans la littérature grecque'. In : *La figure du prêtre dans les grandes traditions religieuses*, ed. by . A. Motte, P. Marchetti, Louvain, 1–31.

Nock, A. D. (1972). *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 2 vols. Oxford.

Parker, R. (1996). *Athenian Religion: a history*. Oxford.
– (2005). *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. Oxford.
– (2010) 'New Problems in Athenian Religion: the 'sacred law' from Aixone'. In: *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity. Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*, ed. by J. Dijkstra, J. Kroesen, Y. Kuiper, Leiden, 193–206.
– (2011). *On Greek Religion*. Ithaca/London.
Pirenne-Delforge, V. (1994). *L'Aphrodite grecque*. Liège.
– (2005). 'Personnel de culte: monde grec', *ThesCRA* 5: 1–31.

Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2005). 'The priesthoods of the Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Kore', *ThesCRA* 5: 60–65.

Toit, D. S. du. (1997). *Theios anthropos*. Tübingen.

Uytfanghe, M. van. (2009). 'La Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane et le discours hagiographique'. In : *Theios Sophistès, Essays on Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii*, ed. by K. Demoen, D. Praet, Leiden, 335–374.

Indices

Deities

Agathos Theos 214
Aglauros .. 70, 73, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 101, 102, 103, 112, 193, 221
Alexandra 30
Ammon 71, 75, 93, 94
Amphiaraos 70, 73, 85, 98, 177, 189
Antinoos 187, 192
Anubis 15
Aphrodite 186, 213, 224, 229
Aphrodite Pandemos 192
Aphrodite Syria 15
Apollo 12, 29, 30, 48, 74, 91, 102, 112, 136, 137, 145, 149, 150, 186, 201, 213, 214, 217
Apollo Ammonios 137
Apollo Erithaseos 73
Apollo Patroos 187, 214
Apollo Pythios 78, 127, 214
Apollo Zoster 71, 92
Archegetes 71
Ares 102, 112, 209, 213, 214
Ariste 43, 177, 179, 191
Artemis 9, 12, 29, 30, 43, 48, 70, 88, 145, 179, 180, 183, 186, 190, 191, 192, 209, 213, 214, 224
Artemis Agrotera 179, 191, 192
Artemis Epipyrgidia ... 29, 127, 224
Artemis Kalliste 186
Artemis Kolainis 224
Artemis Soteira 179, 180, 192
Asklepios .. 8, 16, 70, 73, 75, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 95, 97, 105, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 122, 123, 124, 136, 138, 139, 140, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 162, 177, 178, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 201, 202, 213, 214, 217, 218, 221, 223, 228
Asklepios Soter 186
Atargatis 15
Athena 8, 12, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 88, 107, 147, 162, 166, 190, 194, 195, 196, 200, 213, 214, 217, 218, 221, 224
Athena Horia 127
Athena Lindia 224
Athena Nike 93, 175, 177
Athena Pandemos 177
Athena Polias 69, 70, 73, 75, 77, 79, 84, 86, 88, 92, 107, 108, 167, 173, 190, 194, 214
Athena Soteira ... 100, 101, 116, 196

Bendis 16, 30, 48, 71, 177
Butes 44

Charites 192

Demeter 7, 8, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 48, 50, 71, 72, 73, 81, 86, 110, 137, 161, 162, 166, 167, 194, 197, 199, 200, 213, 214, 215

Dionysos ... 7, 71, 73, 83, 86, 93, 94, 95, 97, 130, 144, 153, 154, 190, 213, 214
Dioscures ... 30, 48

Eileithyia ... 192
Erechtheus ... 44
Eubuleus ... 31, 33, 47
Eukleia ... 186, 224
Eukolos ... 215
Eumenides ... 30
Eunomia ... 186, 224

Ge ... 44
Goddesses of Thesmophoria 34, 37
Graces ... 127, 224

Hagne Aphrodite ... 88
Hekate ... 224
Helios ... 102, 190
Hephaistos ... 72, 209, 213, 214
Hera ... 12, 209, 213, 214, 229
Heracles ... 229
Herakles ... 11
Hermes 30, 48, 209, 213, 214, 230
Hermes Patroos ... 127
Homonoia ... 215
Horai ... 102
Horos ... 215
Hygieia ... 98, 105, 114, 116, 118, 120, 122, 138, 186, 193

Io ... 228
Isis ... 15, 16, 29, 150, 215
Isis Dikaiosyne ... 30

Kalliste ... 43, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 84, 87, 91, 109, 111, 177, 179, 191, 221, 224
Kore 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 48, 49, 50, 72, 73, 137, 161, 162, 166, 167, 194, 197, 199, 200

Leto ... 149

Magna Mater ... 218
Memnon ... 229
Men ... 29
Mother of Gods ... 177, 191, 215
Muses ... 224

Nemesis ... 30, 50, 191, 192
Nymphs ... 30, 48

Oraia ... 216

Pan ... 29, 48, 218
Pandrosos ... 70, 195
Persephone ... 35
Pluto ... 30, 32, 33, 48
Poseidon ... 166, 209, 213, 214
Poseidon Erechtheus ... 70, 72, 86, 90, 91, 167, 173
Poseidon Pelagios ... 71, 86, 93, 94
Poseidon Probasterios ... 127
Poseidon Themeliouchos ... 127

Rhea ... 213, 216

Serapis ... 15, 29, 149, 197, 215
Soter ... 193
Syrian Goddess ... 216

Telesphoros ... 213, 214, 218
Thea ... 31, 32, 34, 47
Themis ... 191, 192
Theos ... 31, 32, 34, 40, 47
Theseus ... 179
Triptolemos ... 30, 32, 50, 216
Trophonios ... 229

Urania ... 213

Zeus ... 73, 99, 100, 101, 190, 213, 214, 229

Zeus Horios 127
Zeus Kasios 214
Zeus Labraundos 225
Zeus Soter 70, 73, 75, 87, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 115, 116, 136, 140, 146, 148, 151, 152, 225

Sources

Ach. Tat.
3.9 226
3.13 226
4.7–18 226
4.12.8 226
5.18.1 226
Aeschin.
3.17–18 78
3.18 ..... 74, 170
3.66–67 84
Agora
1.286 120
1.3939 120
1.6006 154
1.6108 121
15 186
15.460 91
16.255C 98
16.287 111
16.306 ..... 89, 92
16.319 ..... 120, 148
19 L4b 70
19 L6 83
Amm.
17.11.1 227
22.14.3 227
Ar. *Ra.*
369 229
Arist. *Pol.*
1298a2 168
1298a4 168
1298a8 168
1298b9 168
1298b10–11 168
1322b18–29 11
1328b 11–13 11
[Arist.] *Ath. Pol.*
2.9 83
Athen. *Deip.*
1.21 d–e 36

Cic. *de domo suo*
45.118 164
Cic. *Pro Flac.*
58 163
[Clemens] *Homilies*
1.5 228
[Clemens] *Recognitions*
1.5 228

Dam. Isid.
105A 218
145B 218
Dem. *Proem.*
13 171
55 171
55.2 ..... 170, 172
[Dem.] *Or.*
57.46 90
57.46–48 69
58 86
59 171
59.104 ..... 90, 171
59.106 171
59.116–17 222
Diod.
18.18.4–5 166
18.56 166
18.74.3 166

Epict. *Diatr.*
3.21.16 ..... 33, 36

Eun. *VS*
475 230
475–476 217
491 217
493 217
Eus. *C. Hier.*
30.3 229
Eus. *Praep. Ev.*
3.12 230

FD
2 152
3 152
3.2.228 150
13 152
25 152
FGrH
334 36
344 89

Helid.
2.21 227

I Beroia
3 11
I Delos
1416.B 150
1417.C.96–97 149
1442.A.25 150
1452.A.40 150
1498 ..... 137, 144, 148
1499 ..... 117, 136, 139, 140, 144, 145, 148, 157
1500 ..... 139, 145, 149
1503.4–5 151
1504 ..... 139, 143, 145, 149
1505 139
1507 139
1510 183
1562 187
1574 187
1581–1582 187
1593 186
1624 137
1626 186
1628 186
1656 ..... 137, 150
1833.5 ..... 145, 149
1902 187
1923.7 151
1952.7 149
1979 ..... 145, 149
2021–2022 ..... 145, 149
2129.6–7 149
2156.5 149
2158.1–3 150
2255.10 150
2374.3 ..... 88, 145, 151
2535–2536 186
2538 186
2589 ..... 149, 150, 151
2599.6–7 150
2605 ..... 145, 146
2611.B 13 ..... 145, 149
I Didyma
199.6–7 225
I Eleus.
72 92
186 137
201 92
202 137
208 137
226 137
233 ..... 89, 92
234 92
236 72
238 200
239 137
241 137
242 137
244 197
245 200
251–253 200
257–258 137

267 197
268 ..... 72, 137
269–270 200
273 200
275 ..... 137, 197
277–278 72
279 197
281–282 197
283 200
284 197
298 ..... 72, 137
299 200
300 124
300–301 137
301 72
302 200
307 200
317 197
318–319 200
323 200
329 200
334 197
335 198
341 198
342 198
344 198
351 200
357 200
358 198
364 198
365 200
370 200
371–376 198
384–385 200
391 200
393 200
395 199
396 200
405–406 199
414 200
416 200
429 200
431 200
433 199
434 199
435 ..... 186, 199
436–437 199
441–442 200
445 199
458–459 200
464 200
467 200
474–475 200
477 200
480–481 200
485 200
594 ..... 211, 214
500 230
511 200
520–522 200
524 200
535 200
549 199
551 200
566 199
568 200
587 200
591 200
606 199
621 200
628 200
635–636 200
639–640 200
642 200
645 200
663 ..... 211, 212, 215
666 199
3576 186
3950 186
4495 186

I Magn.

98 9

I Oropos

4–6 189

53–61 189
60 189
66–72 189
69–70 189
122 189
129–130 189
196 189
201–202 189
210 189
224 189
256 189
521 189
I Rham.
82 71
I Labr.
54B 225
IG I³
35 177
84 83
136 177
IG II add.
373c 152
385e 154
453b 154
477b 153
IG II²
47 178
107 84
171 98
204 71
223 ..... 75, 221
304 138
334 83
338 75
354 ..... 95, 138, 221
410 93
457 68
464 200
513 68
604 138
659 192
689 ..... 99, 100
690 100
775 ..... 103, 138
776 106
780 128
783 ..... 113, 115, 148, 151, 152
788 ..... 107, 108, 179, 192
789 110
793 136
803 103
807 137
820 ..... 112, 138, 150
847 ..... 137, 147
863 110
900 221
903 112
913 110
928 107
948 111
950 ..... 114, 136, 140, 148, 151, 153, 221
956 143
957 143
958 143
968 143
974 ..... 119, 136, 141, 142, 147, 148, 151, 154, 155
975 ..... 121, 136, 142, 147, 148, 152
976 ..... 118, 136, 148
996 ..... 113, 138
1006 221
1019 136
1033 ..... 123, 136, 148
1046 178
1045 92
1061 ..... 121, 136, 142, 147, 148
1069 188
1074 186
1076 ..... 211, 214, 216
1077 ..... 91, 211, 216
1078 ..... 211, 212, 214, 215
1136 ..... 79, 147

1140 92
1163 178
1188 92
1235 92
1254 86
1279 191
1283 177
1293 138
1298 192
1334 136
1343 ..... 180, 192
1355 ..... 211, 214
1362 73
1533 178
1534B 161
1535 161
1706 110
1722–1726 188
1730 188
1817 ..... 211, 215
1818 ..... 211, 214
1934 39
1950 ..... 211, 212, 213, 214, 215
1989–1990 188
1995 188
2030 186
2065 187
2067 187
2197 ..... 211, 216
2199 ..... 211, 216
2208 ..... 211, 216
2224 ..... 211, 216
2227 ..... 211, 217
2239 ..... 211, 212, 216, 217
2242 ..... 211, 212, 216
2317 150
2333 ..... 146, 151
2336 ..... 32, 149, 150
2338 91
2361 ..... 186, 211, 213, 216, 217
2452 186
2472 186
2481 ..... 186, 193
2773 ..... 211, 212, 215
2798 192
2810 196
2849 71
2865 179
2874 ..... 180, 186
2944 72
2981 ..... 147, 152
3109 191
3120 ..... 186, 188
3176 ..... 186, 188
3184 186
3198 ..... 211, 212, 216
3220 197
3261 ..... 186, 197
3263 186
3274 186
3392 186
3416 ..... 211, 214
3453 69
3454 137
3460 137
3461 195
3463 137
3466 195
3469 ..... 197, 200
3470–3473 195
3474 ..... 44, 72
3475–3476 197
3477 137
3478 200
3480 200
3481 137
3483 196
3484–3485 147
3486 195
3487 137
3488 196
3489–3490 137
3492 200
3495 ..... 72, 137

3496 196
3497 195
3498 197
3499 200
3507–3598 72
3509–3511 137
3510 72
3511 200
3512 137
3515–3516 195
3517–3519 200
3528 196
3530 198
3535 186
3543 188
3546 199
3551–3552 200
3554–3556 196
3557 200
3559–3560 199
3568 199
3569 200
3577 200
3581 200
3584–3588 198
3589 188
3596 196
3604A 198
3608 200
3611 200
3612 196
3619 200
3629 187
3630 ..... 186, 187
3634 196
3635 193
3637–3638 200
3641 ..... 211, 215
3646–3648 200
3653 186
3657 200
3661 ..... 211, 212, 215
3662 ..... 211, 212, 215
3670 ..... 211, 212, 216
3671 ..... 211, 212, 216
3676–3677 200
3679 200
3683 186
3684 ..... 211, 215
3685 ..... 211, 214
3686 200
3688 200
3693 200
3694 ..... 211, 214
3697 ..... 211, 212, 214
3698 ..... 211, 212, 214
3704 ..... 186, 211, 212, 214
3705 ..... 211, 212, 216
3706 ..... 200, 211, 212, 215
3707–3708 200
3709 ..... 211, 212, 215
3710 200
3713 200
3715 ..... 211, 212, 215
3723 197
3727 200
3728 186
3809 ..... 211, 214
3811 ..... 39, 211, 215
3867 143
4006 ..... 211, 212, 217
4075 ..... 211, 214
4077 200
4083 ..... 211, 214
4089 200
4096 199
4188 188
4193a 186, 188
4193b 188
4202–4203 200
4247 196
4271a 191
4283 195
4333 195

4341 195
4404 80
4427 191
4428 191
4481 193
4532 ..... 186, 193, 211, 216
4586 224
4595 191
4638a, b 191
4682 191
4701 ..... 31, 137
4704 197
4716 197
4720–4722 198
4753–4754 199
4767–4768 199
4817 ..... 211, 216, 224
4818 ..... 211, 215
4823 ..... 211, 217
4824 ..... 211, 212, 214
4960 178
4962 178
5010 73
5050 224
5057 224
5059 224
5067 224
5140 224
7175 ..... 186, 211, 216
13251 ..... 211, 212, 215
13262 ..... 211, 212, 216
13278 ..... 211, 212, 215
13286 ..... 211, 213, 214
13287 ..... 211, 213, 216
13620 ..... 211, 212, 214, 215

IG VII
4253 85

IG XII 5
837 150

IK Eph.
17 183
17–19 183
18 ..... 183, 184
19 183

Isoc. *Or.*
2 169
2.6 ..... 169, 170, 172
4.157 229
7.29 83
55 171

Jul. *Or.*
5.173 c–d 34
7.25 229

Lib. *Decl.*
13.19 229
13.52 229

Liv.
31.50.7–9 164

Lys.
30.18 176

Marc. Aur.
27.1 229

Marin. *V. Procli*
7 218
19 218
29 218
30 218
33 218

Men. *Dysc.*
857–8 221

Men. *Epitr.*
452 221
474 221

Men. *Phasm.*
95 221

Men. *Sam.*
46 221

Orig. *Cels.*
3.59 229

Paus.
2.14.1 33
Philostr. *Ap.* 228
1.2.1 228
1.8.2 228
1.10 228
1.11 228
1.13–4 228
1.16.3 228
1.19 228
2.37.2–3 228
3.58 229
4.18 230
4.19 230
4.28.2 229
4.40.3 229
5.19.1 230
5.25.2 229
5.42.1 229
5.5.2 229
6.43 229
8.17 229
8.19.2 229
Philostr. *VS*
2.3 91
Pl. *Lg.*
3.690c 172
5.741b 69
6.690c 69
6.759b 69
6.759b–c 172
Pl. *Resp.*
327a–328a 177
Plin. *Ep.*
10.79 163
10.112 163
10.114 163
Plin. *HN*
34.76 69
Plu. *Alc.*
29.5 11
Plu. *Arist.*
5.6–7 36
Plu. *Moralia*
843e–f 44
Plu. *Num.*
9.8 42
[Plu.] *X Orat.*
843c 91
843e–f 72, 186
852a–e 68
Pol.
36.17.5 167
Pollux
8.90 229

SEG
3.117 179
12.94 186
15.104 82
16.93 113
16.102 ..... 120, 148
16.160 72
17.35 186
18.13 83
18.19 103
18.20 ..... 112, 150
18.21 113
18.22 ..... 114, 153
18.24 ..... 116, 136, 140, 148
18.26 ..... 119, 155
18.27 ..... 121, 142, 147
18.28 118
18.29 123
18.87 ..... 179, 192
19.140 119
22.116 192
24.226 192
24.229 200
26.121 225
26.223 200
28.335 186

29.103 100
29.173 200
30.93 ..... 124, 224
31.122 188
32.110 98
32.220 193
33.115 ..... 101, 193
34.88 111
35.74 97
35.91 103
38.186 ..... 186, 188
39.140 155
39.194 193
39.209 ..... 186, 193
39.228 186
40.657 187
41.54. 128
47.163 186
47.165 70
47.1218 139
48.1040 139
48.1218 143
50.1211 163
51.93 77

SHA *Alex. Sev.*
18.2 229

Suet. *Nero*
34.4 229

Syll.[3]
687 155

Theo Sm. *De utilitate mathematicae*
14.23–4 229

X. *Oec.*
2.4–5 83
9.16–19 80

Zos. *NH*
4.3 217

Places

Acharnai 72, 127
Acropolis ... 13, 42, 70, 73, 106, 107, 110, 162, 180, 190, 193, 194, 196, 197, 200, 201
Agathokleia 30
Aglaurion 101, 111
Agora 68, 73, 98, 99, 100, 111, 120, 157, 183
Aigai 228
Aixone 109, 121, 127, 223
Alexandria 190
Alopeke 70, 75, 86, 186
Amathous 224
Amphitrope 77, 107
Amyklai 30
Anakaia 120
Anaphlystos 127
Aphidna 77, 103, 105
Arcadian Tegea 190
Argos 12, 30
Artemision 183, 184, 190
Ascalon 196
Asklepieion 42, 48, 84, 95, 97, 103, 105, 106, 112, 114, 116, 118, 123, 161, 162, 190, 193
Atene 118
Athmonon 126
Azenia 127

Bate 77, 107, 139
Berenikidai 127
Besa 105
Boeotia 7
Brauron 190
Caria 190
Cholleidai 86, 94, 127

Daphne 228

Deiradiotai 127
Dekeleia 88, 118
Delos 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 157, 164, 165, 166, 177, 180, 182, 183, 186, 201
Delphi 12, 136, 147, 150, 152
Dionysopolis 190
Dipylon Gate 70, 108, 110

Eleusis 7, 29, 31–34, 37, 39–42, 72, 73, 86, 89, 92, 124, 137, 147, 162, 173, 178, 193, 194, 197, 200, 201, 211, 212, 217, 226, 229, 230
Ephesos 12
Epidauros 178
Epikephisia 116
Erechtheion 44, 90
Eroiadai 97
Euonymon 109
Eupyridai 73, 112, 147

Gadeira 229
Gytheion 28, 30, 48, 196

Hadrians Gate 37
Hagnous 34, 38, 51, 94, 97, 127, 137
Halai 127
Halai Aixonides 71, 92
Halimous 90, 116
Hekateion 42
Herakleion 178
Herculaneum 35
Hermai 118
Hermous 88
Hymettos 210, 211, 212, 214

Ikaria 31
Ionidai 88, 118, 139, 143, 145

Kalyvia 210, 211, 216
Kephale 102
Kephisia 86, 88, 115, 118, 127
Kerameikos 42
Kerameis 73, 97, 100
Kos 8, 13
Kydathenaion 120

Labraunda 190
Laconia 8, 196
Lagina 224
Lamptrai 109, 121
Larissa 30, 48
Leukonoion 127
Lindos 190

Macedonia 7
Magnesia 9
Mantineia 31
Marathon 127, 137, 143, 144, 145, 148
Melite 127, 139, 143, 192
Metroon 177, 191
Milet 149, 225
Mycenae 30
Myrrhinous 98, 124

Odeon of Herodes Atticus 153, 154
Oion 127
Olympia 229
Olympieion 37
Oropos 177, 189

Paiania 77, 88, 98, 102, 118
Pallene 127
Pambotadai 87, 88, 113, 118, 137
Paphos 229
Parnes 210, 212, 215
Paros 37
Patissia 210, 215
Pergamum 163
Pergase 87, 88, 109, 115, 146

Perithoidai 88, 118, 145
Phaleron 86, 94
Phlya 72, 88, 102, 114, 116, 118, 120, 141, 142, 147
Phtelea 48
Piraeus 48, 70, 71, 73, 83, 86, 93, 95, 100, 115, 116, 120, 121, 127, 136, 137, 140, 148, 151, 152, 166, 167, 178, 210, 211, 216
Plutonion 31
Potamos 120
Priene 8, 222

Rhamnous 186, 191
Rhenea 183
Rhodes 7, 16, 189, 190, 224
Rome 140, 183, 185

Samos 12
Serapeion 15, 183
Sounion 99, 127
Sphettos 97, 127
Stoa of Zeus 73, 99, 100, 101

Tanagra 188
Thebes 228
Thorai 98
Thymaitadai 75, 85
Trikorinthos 127

Volos 30

Xypete 105

Zea 178